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THE MINIMUM WAGE IN CANADA

I. INTRODUCTION

The determination of minimum wages by governmental bodies, which first began in Australasia over a quarter of a century ago, has since spread not only to England and the United States but to Canada as well. Within the last five years, five of the nine provinces of the Dominion, namely, Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Ontario, and Saskatchewan, have established active systems of minimum wage regulation. Two more, Nova Scotia and Quebec, have laws authorizing such a system which are as yet inoperative, while only two, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, remain without such legislation.

What are the reasons for such a relatively rapid adoption of the principle? Probably the following: first, the example not only of the other British commonwealths, but the relatively successful operation of such measures in some of the American states, more particularly those of the Pacific Coast; second, the strong support of the minimum wage principle by the forces of organized labor in Canada whose attitude has been in sharp contrast to the hostile, or at most apathetic, position adopted by the officials of the American labor movement toward the proposal; third, the absence from the organic law of Canada of provisions similar to those which American jurists have found in the Fourteenth Amendment and the constitutions of most of our states; fourth, the weaker power of the manufacturing interests in Canada as compared with those of the United States. Such large industrial establishments as do exist in Canada are not primarily those that employ any considerable proportion of women. Moreover, many of the manufacturers have favored such legislation, both because of humanitarian reasons

¹ The province of Prince Edward Island has a population of only 88,536, consisting almost wholly of independent small farmers.

and because it served to protect them against the competitive undercutting of wages.

As a result of all these factors the minimum wage not only seems to be firmly established in the five Canadian provinces that have adopted it, but seems destined soon to be put into effect by those remaining provinces which are to any degree industrialized. It is the purpose of this paper to analyze the nature of the laws that have been passed and the rulings that have been promulgated, and to draw certain general conclusions from them.

II. ALBERTA

In 1917 the province of Alberta passed a Factories Act which among other things provided that "no person shall be employed by any employer in any factory, shop, office, or office building at a wage less than \$1.50 per shift, except in case of apprentices who may be paid a wage of not less than \$1.00 per shift." This was evidently a flat-rate minimum similar to the minimum wage laws of Utah and Arkansas in the United States. Moreover it nominally applied to men as well as to women, although the wages set were so low that few, if any, men would benefit by the act. Night work for women after eleven o'clock was prohibited and a ten-hour day for both men and women was established.

There was a great deal of dissatisfaction with the minimum wage features of the act, and in 1919 an amendment was passed authorizing the cabinet to appoint committees in each of the four cities of over 5,000 to make recommendations relative to minimum wages and maximum hours.² At a joint meeting of these four committees, the chairman ruled that they had no power to deal with any question unless definite complaint was made, and the upshot of the matter was that no action was taken. In the session of 1920, Mr. Alex. Ross, the only labor member in the legislature, prepared a minimum wage bill which was withdrawn upon the promise of the government to introduce a similar measure. The latter measure amending the Factories Act, provided that an "advisory" committee of five members should

¹ Royal Statutes Province of Alberta, 1917, chap. 20, sec. 221 (italics mine).

² Ibid., 1919, chap. 4, sec. 29.

be appointed "to investigate and determine the amount of" the minimum wages and maximum hours and make reports to the lieutenant-governor (really to the cabinet) who was empowered to put their rulings into effect by an order of council. It was thus made apparently discretionary with the cabinet whether or not they were to follow the advice of the committee.

The committee held hearings during the latter part of 1920 and in January, 1921, made the following recommendations: (1) that an Order-in-Council should be issued fixing the minimum wage in factories, offices, shops, for all females and persons under eighteen at \$13.00 a week, except in the the case of apprentices who were to be paid a minimum of \$8.50 a week; (2) that all hours of labor should be fixed by legislation, rather than by Order-in-Council; (3) that the proportion of apprentices was not to be more than 25 per cent of the total number of employed; and (4) that legislation be speedily enacted providing for minimum wage boards similar to those that by that time were in vogue in other provinces.

The cabinet did not issue the wage decrees recommended, but instead introduced a measure in the provincial parliament calling for the appointment of a minimum wage board.³ This bill was criticized by the labor elements on a number of grounds: (1) that the Board was not empowered to deal with hours and that the regulations as fixed by the 1917 Factories Act might be repealed; (2) that it applied only to cities and towns and did not cover factories located on the outskirts; (3) that it was to take effect only upon proclamation of the lieutenant-governor (really the cabinet) who might thus give the act a pocket veto.⁴ After a short discussion the government withdrew this measure and no law was passed at this session.

- ¹ Royal Statutes Province of Alberta, 1920, chap. 40.
- ² The system of granting the cabinet the power to legislate concerning a matter by means of an order-in-council is a method of delegating legislative powers to the executive which is of course totally absent under the American system of government. Amongst its other features, it sometimes serves as a method of tabling a question without the individual legislators being exposed to the onus of so doing.
 - 3 Bill No. 28 of 1021.
 - 4 For these and other criticisms see the Alberta Labor News, February 26, 1921.

In the provincial elections of 1921, the Conservative government was swept from office and a Farmer-Labor party, composed predominantly of the former, elected in its stead. Within the last month, this government has passed a minimum wage measure, authorizing the appointment of a minimum wage board with power to fix minimums for all classes of female workers (except domestic servants in private houses) employed in twelve specified towns and cities of over 1,500 population.2 This board may call a conference of employers and employees to recommend a wage to them but may also proceed directly without such a conference. With the approval of the cabinet, it may also fix periods of employment. The former flat-rate law is to continue until replaced in specific industries by the new minimum. It should be noted that this act makes it only optional upon the cabinet as to whether it will appoint such a board and permits it to veto any ruling made by the board as regards hours, once the board is established. It is probable, however, that the cabinet will appoint such a body shortly.

III. BRITISH COLUMBIA

In 1918 British Columbia enacted a minimum wage law upon the commission model. As early as 1914, the union groups had recommended that the government enact a law to raise the low wages that they alleged were being paid to women workers. The unions apparently had no definite plan in mind, other than a flat-rate measure, and no action was taken. The general extension of sympathy with the minimum wage concept and the example of the three Pacific states of Washington, Oregon, and California to the south, both increased the desire for such a law and the knowledge of the principles and methods of administration in vogue. In 1917, therefore, various reform organizations interested themselves in the matter and urged the government to pass such a measure. In 1918 such a bill was introduced as a government measure and under the direction of a woman member, Mrs. Ralph Smith, was piloted through the Legislative Assembly and was finally passed.

¹ Bill No. 10, First Session, Fifth Legislature, 12 George V, 1922.

² I.e., Calgary, Edmonton, Lethbridge, Medicine Hat, Red Deer, Wetaskiwin, Blairmore, Camrose, Cardston, Coleman, Drumheller, Redcliff.

I. THE PROVISIONS OF THE MINIMUM WAGE ACTS

The bill as enacted¹ provided for the formation of a board of "three members, one of whom shall be the deputy minister of labor, and who shall be the chairman of the Board, with two other members appointed by and holding office during the pleasure of the lieutenant-governor in council, one of whom shall be a woman," with power "to ascertain the wages paid to employees in the various occupations, trades and industries in which women are employed in this Province, and to fix a minimum wage."

This board was given the power of holding public meetings and if after investigation it should find that the wages paid to females in any occupation were inadequate, it was empowered to call a "conference composed of an equal number of representatives of employers and employees in the occupation in question together with one or more disinterested persons representing the public," but these public representatives "shall not exceed the number of representatives of either of the two parties." A member of the Board was to be a member and chairman of the conference itself. Upon the request of the Board the conference was to submit an estimate of the proper minimum wage for that occupation. The sole standard set up by the act to guide the conference was that such a wage should be "adequate to support the necessary cost of living." Vague as this phrase was, it was at least clear in that the first charge upon an industry was to be the support of its women workers.

The Board was given the power to accept or reject any or all of the recommendations of the conference and to recommit the subject or the recommendations to the same or a new conference.

The orders of the Board were to become effective sixty days from the date of issue although the Board could prolong this period if "unusual conditions" prevailed. Upon petition of either employers or employees, the Board "may" reopen the question.

Special licenses might be granted to the physically defective and to apprentices permitting them to receive less than the

¹ Royal Statutes Province of British Columbia, 1918, chap. 56.

minimum, but the number holding such licenses was not to exceed 10 per cent of the whole number of employees in any given establishment. Intimidation of possible witnesses was to be punished by a fine of from \$25 to \$100 and there was the same penalty for violation of the Board's order. Employees who were paid less than the legal minimum were entitled to recover the balance due them together with costs.

Finally, the work of farm laborers, fruit pickers, and domestic servants was specifically exempted from the act.

It will have been noticed that this act did not give the Board power to fix maximum hours. In the winter of 1919, however, such jurisdiction was conferred upon the Board, and in the same act the maximum proportion of specially licensed employees (defectives and apprentices) was raised to one-seventh.

By an amending act of 1921, the Minimum Wage Board was placed in charge of the administration of Mothers' Pensions.

2. THE OPERATION OF THE ACTS AND THE ORDERS ISSUED

The system followed in administering the law has been to take up one industry or a group of industries at a time. Under this plan practically all the fields of women's labor, with the exception of those exempted from the act, have now been covered. The Board has throughout co-operated with the Minimum Wage Commissions of the three Pacific Coast states, by correspondence, by trips of inspection and by joint conference. The administrative methods worked out in the three American commonwealths have therefore had great influence upon the policy and rulings of the British Columbia body.

Mercantile group.—It was decided to investigate first the wages of the women employed in the shops and stores. Public hearings were held by the Board itself, and a conference or commission consisting of three representatives of the public, and an equal number of both employees and employers was appointed by it to deal with the question.

The investigations which the Board conducted showed that approximately 11 per cent of women workers over eighteen in

¹ Royal Statutes British Columbia, 1919, chap. 61.

² Ibid., sec. 5.

the mercantile industry, received less than \$9 a week, 22 per cent less than \$10, and 40 per cent less than \$11, while the average for the group as a whole was \$12.77. The Board at the meeting of the conference, submitted estimates by working-women of the "cost of living" on a yearly basis which averaged \$16.81 a week.

Since the act at this time did not cover hours or conditions of work, the conference brought in a recommendation only as regards wages, in which it recommended that a minimum of $26\frac{9}{16}$ cents per hour and \$12.75 per week (or practically the average wage for the industry) be established for all women workers of eighteen years, and over. This recommendation dealt only with adult workers and was silent on the knotty problems connected with minors and apprentices. In January, 1919, the Board itself went into these questions and worked out supplementary regulations concerning these classes which it issued in connection with the ruling for adults.3 These provisions were that minors under eighteen years should receive a minimum of \$7.50 a week with an increase of 50 cents quarterly for a period of two years. If the worker attained the age of eighteen before the two years of employment expired, but had been employed for at least one year, she was to receive an adult's full wage.4 The minimum wage for adult apprentices was fixed at \$0.00 and the period of apprenticeship at one year—the wages to increase \$1 quarterly until at the end of the year the worker was to receive the minimum wage of the experienced adult.⁵ All of these rulings were effective in February, 1919.

Laundry, cleaning, and dyeing trades.—A conference was called in December, 1918, to consider wages in the laundry, cleaning, and dyeing trades. At this conference the budgets for the estimated cost of living presented by employees averaged

¹ Annual Report, Department of Labour, Province of British Columbia, 1919, p. 97.

² *Ibid.*, 1918, pp. 61-62.

³ The ruling for adults was issued as Order No. 1, Minimum Wage Board, Province of British Columbia.

⁴ Order No. 2, Minimum Wage Board, Province of British Columbia.

⁵ Order No. 3, Minimum Wage Board, Province of British Columbia.

only \$14.85 a week, or nearly \$2 less than those presented in the mercantile industry.

The investigations of the Department of Labor showed that in the laundry trade wages as low as \$6 and \$7 a week were being paid, and that the average for adults for the trade as a whole was only \$11.22. Wages were higher in the cleaning and dyeing trades: here only 25 per cent of all female workers received less than \$13.50 weekly, while the average for all females was \$15.10.\text{\text{\$\text{1}}}\$ The average for both branches of work, however, was only \$11.80. The conference recommended a minimum wage for women over eighteen years of $28\frac{1}{8}$ cents per hour or \$13.50 per week (or \$1.75 in excess of the average), but like the mercantile conference did not touch upon the wages of minors and adult apprentices.

The Board took these matters under consideration and issued rulings, effective March 31, 1919, which provided that minors under eighteen should receive a minimum of \$8.00 per week during the first four months of employment. This was to be increased 50 cents a week during each of the three successive four months' periods, with an increase of \$1 for the three next periods until the worker reached the age of eighteen, at which time, provided that she had been employed for at least a year, she was to receive the adult's minimum of \$13.50.2

An apprenticeship period of one year was established for adult learners with a starting wage of \$9 weekly, which was to be increased \$1.50 every four months until at the end of the year the full wage was to be paid.³

Largely as a result of their experience in trying to control the competition of Chinese laundries, etc., the Board reported in the early winter of 1919 that "one of the inevitable impressions left upon those interested in the investigations was the futility of endeavoring to fix a just and equitable minimum wage where there is no power to control hours of labor," and

¹ Annual Report, Department of Labour, Province of British Columbia, 1919, pp. 65-66.

² Order No. 5, Minimum Wage Board, Province of British Columbia.

³ Order No. 6, Minimum Wage Board, Province of British Columbia.

⁴ Annual Report, Department of Labour, Province of British Columbia, 1919, p. 66.

stated that in their opinion "more effective results could be obtained were the same power given us to regulate hours and conditions as have been given elsewhere to the Minimum Wage Boards."

Public housekeeping occupations.—The next group to be considered were the public housekeeping occupations and in May, 1919, a conference was called to investigate these occupations. By this time the amendment had been made to the original act giving the Board the power to fix maximum hours and increasing the ratio of apprentices to one-seventh.

At this conference the question arose whether the tips received by the workers should not lower the minimum set. After discussion, it was decided to eliminate all consideration of tips, on the ground that they were a personal donation and were not connected with the wages paid by the employer. The employee group tried to secure the adoption of an eight-hour day with one day's rest in seven, but failed to secure such a thoroughgoing measure. The award as finally agreed upon provided for a minimum for experienced adults of \$14 per week, to be effective in August, 1919. Minors under eighteen years were to be paid a minimum of \$12 a week, but no graduated scale was provided for this group. Adult apprentices were given a weekly minimum of \$12, but no length of apprenticeship nor graduated scale was provided.

Forty-eight hours was fixed as the normal week's work for all three of these groups, with a provision for a maximum of fifty-two hours in an emergency, provided that time and a half was paid for all hours worked over forty-eight. The employer was allowed to deduct \$3 a week from the worker's salary if he furnished lodging, and \$5.25 a week if he furnished a full week's board of twenty-one meals.²

Office occupations.—Simultaneously with this award, another was issued, applying to office occupations, which fixed the minimum for adults at \$15 a week.³ Minors under eighteen

I Ibid.

² Order Governing Public Housekeeping Occupation, Minimum Wage Board, Province of British Columbia.

³ By a peculiarity of the Canadian banking law it was found that it could not apply to banks.

were to receive \$11 a week for the first six months of their employment. This was to be increased \$1 every six months, and an apprenticeship period of one year was established which was divided into four periods of three months, during the first of which the apprentice was to receive \$11, with an increase of \$1 every quarter. The maximum working week for all of these groups was set at forty-eight hours.

Manufacturing.—The next group of occupations considered was the manufacturing industries. Up to this point, the industries dealt with had been of such a nature that they did not compete with firms outside of the province. In the case of manufacturing, however, the Board and the conference were faced with the problems of competition. The representatives of the manufacturers declared that they were not opposed to the minimum wage, but argued that the wages should not be fixed at a point which made it difficult to compete with the low wages which, it was alleged, were paid in the eastern provinces.² Board finally fixed \$14 as the minimum for adult women. under eighteen were to receive \$10 a week during the first six months of employment, which sum was to be increased \$1 per week every six months until the minimum for adults was attained. No definite length of apprenticeship or minimum for apprentices was fixed—the Board being granted the power to make different rulings for the various manufacturing industries.3

The conference originally recommended the basic forty-four-hour week, with a maximum of fifty-two hours in case of an emergency, provided that time and a half was paid for all hours over forty-four. The Board refused to approve this recommendation on the ground that it was in conflict with the Factories Act which declared forty-eight hours to be the legal maximum.⁴ It is difficult to see the force of this contention in

¹ Order Governing Office Occupation, Minimum Wage Board, Province of British Columbia.

² The Pacific Coast states all had minimum wage measures and hence possible competitive advantages here were slight.

 $^{{\}tt 3}\,\textit{Report of the Deputy Minister of Labour, Province of British Columbia, 1919, p. 91.}\\$

⁴ See chap. 81, Royal Statutes Province of British Columbia, 1911, sec. 12 (a) and 14 (c). The text of this law is given in the volume, *Labour Legislation in Canada as Existing December 31*, 1920, pp. 692-702, published by the Canadian Department of Labor.

so far as it applied to the basic forty-four-hour week, since the Factories Act merely set forty-eight hours as an ordinary maximum with provision for fifty-four hours upon exemption by the inspectors, and the 1919 amendment to the original Minimum Wage Act apparently gave the Board full power to fix hours.

The Board also soon withdrew the rulings relative to minors under eighteen, and, in accordance with the plea of the manufacturers, began to attempt to work out different standards for the various industries for both minors and apprentices to meet the widely varying conditions; as yet, however, no regulations have been issued for these classes.

Personal service.—This group was interpreted as comprising only those rendering service to the public and as not including the domestic servants of private families. It was also decided to make separate rulings for ushers because of the irregular nature of their work. After recommendations by the conference, the Board issued rulings providing a minimum of \$14.25 for adults, with a provision that minors under eighteen were not to receive less than \$10 a week during the first six months of employment at any occupation, with an increase of \$1 every six months until the adult minimum was reached. The Board reserved the right to fix varying apprenticeship rules for the different public service occupations. The special rulings for ushers provided an hourly minimum, for those employed after 6:00 P.M., of 30 cents an hour with a minimum payment for the evening of 75 cents. Ushers working between eighteen and thirty-six hours per week were guaranteed a weekly minimum of \$10.80 and could be employed only between the hours of 1:30 P.M. and 11:00 P.M. Those working more than thirtysix hours a week were guaranteed the minimum of \$14.25.1 These last provisions are an evidence of the desire of the Board to impose a penalty differential upon broken employment and to force more steady work.2

¹ Order Governing Personal Service Occupation, Minimum Wage Board, Province of British Columbia.

² A maximum of forty-eight hours for the week was set.

Telephone and telegraph.—A conference held for the industry in August recommended: (1) a minimum wage of \$15 for experienced adults, (2) a fifteen-month period of apprenticeship, and (3) a normal forty-eight-hour week with one day's rest in seven, provided that fifty-two hours with time-and-a-half for overtime might be worked in case of emergency, and that when employees "were customarily on duty between 10:00 P.M. and 8:00 A.M. ten hours were to be construed as the equivalent of eight." These recommendations were issued as an order by the Board.

The public utility companies had shown a great deal of opposition to the general proposals,2 and after the order went into effect a telephone company petitioned for a reopening of the case. Many of the employees were also dissatisfied at the length of apprenticeship which had been fixed. The Board recommitted the question to the identical conference in February, 1920, and this body recommended, and the Board ordered, that the usual classification of women workers into experienced adults, minors, and adult apprentices be done away with and that instead they should be divided into the two classes of experienced and inexperienced. The first class, regardless of age, was to receive \$15 a week, while the learning period of the second was set at nine months, during the first three of which a minimum wage of \$11 a week was to apply with an increase of \$1 during each of the two successive quarters when it was to become \$15. The number of such inexperienced operators, however, was not to exceed 35 per cent of the number of females employed. No change was made in the regulations concerning hours.3

Fishing.—The conference appointed to deal with this industry in December, 1919, unanimously recommended that fish-canning be exempted from regulation because of certain peculiar tribal habits of the Indians who formed a large portion of the

¹ Report of the Deputy Minister of Labour, Province of British Columbia, 1919, p. 90.

² The Canadian Pacific Railway had claimed that since they were a "Dominion" railway, they were not subject to the wage legislation of provincial bodies.

³ Order Governing Telephone and Telegraph Occupation, Minimum Wage Board, Province of British Columbia.

working force in salmon canneries. Women working in other lines of preparing fish for the market were to be classified as experienced and inexperienced—the former to receive a weekly minimum of \$15.50 (the highest wage thus far fixed), while the latter were to receive \$12.75 during the first four months of their employment, with an increase of \$1 a week for each of the two successive four months' periods, after which the full minimum was to be paid. No limitation was made concerning the number of hours.¹

Canning of fruits and vegetables.—As a result of the conference appointed to deal with this industry, the Board ruled that experienced workers (those who had been in the industry more than three months) should receive a minimum of \$14 for a week of forty-eight hours and that piece-workers should receive an equal minimum per hour. The hours of work might be extended in an emergency period (ninety days out of the year) to ten a day, or sixty a week, provided that the worker who was employed more than eight and less than eleven hours in any one day was to receive at least 30 cents an hour during the overtime period. If more than this was worked the earnings should be at least 45 cents an hour. Inexperienced employees were to receive \$10 a week during the first month of their employment, \$11 the second, \$12 the third, and thereafter the minimum for experienced workers.2 The Board was given the power to extend the emergency period for overtime work at its discretion.

3. MINIMUM WAGE ACT FOR MEN IN COAL MINES

In 1919 the provincial parliament passed an amendment to the Coal Mines Regulation Act providing for a Coal Mines Minimum Wage Board to consist of the chief inspector of mines and members appointed respectively by mine owners and mine workers. This Board was given the power to investigate conditions and fix minimum wages for coal mines in any section of

¹ Order Governing Fishing Industry, Minimum Wage Board, Province of British Columbia.

² Order Governing Fruit and Vegetable Industry, Minimum Wage Board, District of Columbia.

the province. It is believed that such an act extending the protection of the legal minimum wage to men is, with the exception of the general law of Alberta, somewhat unique in the English-speaking countries of North America, but it has never been put into effect.

4. EFFECTS OF THE MINIMUM WAGE

Data covering wages and hours in the various industries before and after the establishment of the Board's rulings are fortunately available and are worth citing. Table I shows the average wage in five sets of industries, and Table II the relative number of hours worked and the proportion of minors.

TABLE I

Comparison of Average Wages Prior and Subsequent to Minumum Wage
Enactments in British Columbia*

OCCUPATION		GE WAGE FI		Average Wage Females under Eighteen		
	1918	1919	1920	1918	1919	1920
Mercantile		\$14.67 14.48 15.13 16.20 18.24	\$15.94 15.08 16.64 16.58 19.43	\$7.80 9.69	\$ 9.73 11.19 11.13 14.24 13.40	\$ 9.56 11.95 10.38 15.75 13.61

^{*} Data compiled from Annual Report, Department of Labour, Province of British Columbia, 1919, pp. 97-98; 1920, pp. 63-65.

TABLE II

Comparison of Average Hours Worked Per Week and the Proportion of Minors Prior and Subsequent to Minimum Wage Enactments in British Columbia*

Occupation	Average Hours Worked Per Week			PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYEES UNDER EIGHTEEN		
	1918	1919	1920	1918	1919	1920
Mercantile	47.2	46.1 45.1 45.9 48.9 43.6	43.7 45.7 43.8 46.5 41.5	15.5 23.0	18.5 17.0 23.9 6.0 7.0	18.0 14.7 16.9 4.7 5.9

^{*} Data compiled from Annual Report, Department of Labour, Province of British Columbia 1919, pp. 97-98; 1920, pp. 63-65.

¹ Royal Statutes Province of British Columbia, 1919, chap. 58.

² With the exception, of course, of the Kansas Industrial Disputes Act.

Because of the decrease in hours worked per week, hourly wages increased at a considerably faster rate than the weekly earnings indicated in Table I. Thus the hourly earnings of mercantile employees increased from approximately 26 cents in 1918 to 36 cents in 1920, or an increase of about 38 per cent, while those of laundry workers rose from 25 cents in 1918 to 33 cents in 1920, or an increase of 32 per cent. Hourly earnings in manufacturing industries rose from 33 cents in 1919 to 38 cents in 1920; in public housekeeping the rise was from 33 cents to 36 cents, and in office occupations from 42 cents to 47 cents.

It is probably impossible to determine what share the minimum wage decrees, as such, had in this increase and what part was due to the rising cost of living which necessitated some increase in money wages. It is at least possible that the increase would have occurred had no rulings been made. Judging by the wage material gathered for the mercantile and laundry industries, however, it seems probable that the decrees did affect an appreciable increase of wages for the lowest-paid workers. This is indicated by the fact that while in 1918, 23 per cent of the adult women in stores received less than \$10 a week, in 1919 only 2 per cent received less than this and only 7 per cent less than \$12. Among the adult laundry workers in 1918, 43 per cent received less than \$11 a week, while in 1919 only 1 per cent received less than this amount and only 7 per cent less than \$13 a week.

The statistics given also throw light upon the question as to whether the "minimum tends to become the maximum." In the mercantile occupation the average in 1920 is shown to have been \$3.19 in excess of the minimum weekly wage, among the laundry workers the average was \$1.58 above the minimum, in manufacturing \$2.64, in public housekeeping, \$2.58, and in office employments \$4.43. It is therefore apparent that the minimum wage has not tended to become the maximum.

Although the minimum has thus not tended to become the maximum, what has been the effect upon the relative variations in earnings? In other words, has the minimum wage decreased

¹ See Annual Report, Department of Labour, Province of British Columbia, 1919, pp. 97–98.

the disparity in pay between the various workers in an industry? Has it tended to produce a greater degree of standardization of reward? The writers have analyzed the British Columbia statistics for 1918 and 1919 for the mercantile and laundry industries, the former year being prior to the promulgation of the first orders and the latter subsequent to them. Frequency tables of the number in the various wage groups are given in the 1919 report of the Minimum Wage Board and from these data we have computed the probable position of the first and third quartiles and the consequent interquartile range and coefficient.

	Mercantil	e Industry	Laundry and Dry-cleaning Industry		
	1918 1919		1918	1919	
First quartile $(Q)_1$ Third quartile $(Q)_3$	\$10.10 15.00	\$12.75 15.80	\$ 9.90 13.50	\$13.50 15.30	

The interquartile range (Q_3-Q_1) in the mercantile industry in 1918 was therefore \$15.00-\$10.10=\$4.90; while the quartile deviation $\left(\frac{Q_3-Q_1}{2}\right)$ was \$2.45. A year later when the minimum wage was in effect, the interquartile range was only \$3.05 (i.e., \$15.80-\$12.75=\$3.05) and the quartile deviation was consequently \$1.53. In the laundry and dry-cleaning industry, the interquartile range in 1918 was \$1.50-\$9.90=\$3.60 and the interquartile deviation was therefore \$1.80. By 1919 the interquartile range had shrunk to \$1.80 (i.e., \$15.30-\$13.50=\$1.80), with a resulting deviation of 90 cents.

This clearly shows that there was much less variation in earnings (at least as far as the middle half of the cases were concerned) after the minimum wage had been put into effect than previously. This decrease in the variation was really considerably greater than is shown by the foregoing figures, because of the fact that the general wage level was higher in both industries in 1919 than it was in the preceding year, so that a variation of a dollar meant less relatively in 1919 than in 1918. These interquartile ranges

can therefore be reduced to a common denominator. Using the accepted formula of $\frac{Q_3-Q_{\rm r}}{Q_3+Q_{\rm r}}$, we have the following quartile coefficients of dispersion:

	1918	1919
Mercantile industry	.195	.107
Laundry and dry-cleaning industry	.154	.063

These figures show the relative variation in the mercantile industry of the middle half of the cases in 1919 to have been approximately one-half of the variation in 1918, and in the laundry trade to have been much less than one-half. Little doubt can exist therefore of the tendency of the minimum wage in British Columbia to bring about a greater degree of standardization and uniformity in wages than would otherwise exist.

Finally, the figures given in Table II show quite conclusively that there was not a substitution of minors for adults. In each industry, with the exception of the mercantile trade, the percentage of juveniles decreased. This was true even of manufacturing, where the Board finally set no wage minimums for those under eighteen.

It is also interesting to note that "for a short time after the issuance of the early orders dealing with the mercantile and laundry industries, the Board tried to enforce the payment of the full weekly wage" when less than the standard number of hours were actually worked, but that it "found that it could not legally continue to do so," and now "when short time is worked the employer may pay an hourly wage figured pro rata on the weekly wage for full time work."

IV. MANITOBA

In 1918 Manitoba adopted an act creating a Minimum Wage Board of five, two of whom were to be women, to fix wages, hours, and conditions of work in "any shop, mail-order house or factory in any city in Manitoba." In 1919 their jurisdiction was extended to offices and places of amusement as well.⁴ The

¹ Letter from Mr. J. D. McNiven, chairman of the Board, to the writers.

² Ibid.

³ Royal Statutes Province of Manitoba, 1918, chap. 38. ⁴ Ibid., 1919, chap. 54.

Board was authorized by the original act to ascertain and declare "what wages are adequate to supply the necessary cost of living to employees and to maintain them in health." No specific provision was made for their calling conferences to assist them, and the Board was given the usual power to grant special licenses to physical defectives and to learners, and discretionary power to extend its rulings to localities other than cities. Provisions similar to those of British Columbia were made for the enforcement of the law. In practice, the Board has set its minimum after investigation and after representatives of the employers and of the employees have met jointly with them, the members of the Board presiding at this gathering. No separate report is made to it. This method is thus vitally different from the systems of conferences used in British Columbia and in most of the American states, in that it gives much greater latitude to the Board itself. It is also claimed for it that it speeds up action, which is likely to be slow under the system of separate conferences, and gives greater bargaining power to those who wish to increase the wage level.

The forty-four rulings issued by the Board prior to May, 1921, present a maze of complexities. The result is that there are very real variations, between trades and sometimes between localities as regards the wages and hours of adults, the length of apprenticeship, and the wages of apprentices and minors. A detailed analysis of these various rulings will be found in Table V, and we shall here content ourselves with merely stating the general nature of the rulings and the main groups into which they fall. The awards will now be grouped as regards the wages of adults, the hours of adults, apprenticeship, and the work of minors.

Wages of experienced adults.—Restaurant and office workers have been granted a weekly minimum of \$12.50, as have also hotel employees in Winnipeg and Brandon. The majority of the other awards have been for \$12 a week, including those for stores and for the printing, tailoring, dressmaking, jewelry,

¹ An approach toward greater standardization was made in November, 1921, when the rulings for eleven industries were revised and made uniform.

leather, and similar trades. A feature of the awards for some industries is the distinction drawn between the minimums set for skilled and unskilled occupations within a given trade. For the former, a minimum of \$12 has been generally set, while for the latter the minimum is either \$10 or \$11. Among the trades with this double classification are the big factories, the dyeing and dry-cleaning shops, mail-order houses, and the factories manufacturing ladies' garments. In a few trades, notably confectionery establishments, laundries, and paper-box factories, the minimum is \$11 a week, while for the city of Brandon the minimum for laundry-work is only \$9 and in Dauphin only \$8.50.

Hours of work.—The Manitoba Factories Act had fixed the maximum hours for women in factories at nine a day and fiftyfour a week, while the Shops Regulation Act had fixed the maximum for stores at fourteen a day and sixty a week.¹ The Minimum Wage Board was given the power to fix lower maximums and has uniformly done so. For only hotels and laundries has so high a maximum as fifty-two hours been set. In one case fifty-one hours was set, and in eight, the most important of which was department stores, fifty hours. four trades forty-nine hours was established as the maximum, while in twenty-seven, including most of the factory industries, forty-eight was made the upper limit. For office workers indeed a weekly maximum of forty-four hours was established.2 Commonly, nine hours was set as the maximum length of the working day, and in most of the trades specific provision was made for a half-holiday on Saturday.

Apprenticeship.—The conditions established for apprenticeship vary widely. In a few instances, notably in the case of hotels, restaurants, and amusement places, no learning period is allowed. In twenty-two of the rulings a six months' period is set, in two cases nine months serves as the length of time in

¹ See text of these laws as given in *Labour Legislation in Canada as Existing December 31*, 1920, pp. 458–68, 489–91, published by the Canadian Department of Labor.

² For a digest of the rulings, see *The Minimum Wage for Women and Girls in Manitoba*, pp. 8-16.

which to learn a trade, in eight, a year is set, in seven, eighteen months, and in only two cases has two years been fixed. As a rule, the six months' learning periods are divided into two divisions of three months each, while those of a year or more are subdivided into six months' periods. The learners' rates are naturally graduated during these periods, as a rule, increasing one dollar with every period until the minimum for experienced adults is reached.

Minors.—In some occupations, notably amusement places and hotels, no minors are allowed. In restaurants, none below sixteen are permitted. In many industries the rates and periods are the same for minors as for apprentices. In most of the trades, however, the period of learning is longer than for adult apprentices. After the learning period is over, the minor is to receive the same wage as the experienced adult.

Other provisions.—It is much more customary in Canada than in the United States for employees to board with their employer. The Board has regulated this situation by ruling almost uniformly that not more than \$2 a week could be deducted for lodging, \$4.50 a week for board, or \$6 for both board and lodging. To Other rulings by the Board include the uniform application of a code providing hygienic conditions of work, and requirement of a week's notice by either employer or employee prior to dismissal, lay-off, or resignation unless caused by the gross provocation of the other party. The Board has ruled that when an employee is not offered an opportunity to work full time during the week that the employer must nevertheless pay her "the full minimum." This is of course designed to compel the employers to furnish full-time employment. During the recent industrial depression, however, the Board has "issued thirty-day permits to some employers allowing their female workers to work short time."3

In the case of laundries the maximum set is \$5.50.

² Letter from Mr. E. McGrath, secretary of the Manitoba Board to the writers March 6, 1921. When the worker absents herself of her own volition, however, she is paid only for time worked.

³ Ibid.

V. SASKATCHEWAN

In 1919 Saskatchewan passed a minimum wage measure providing for the appointment of a Mimimum Wage Board of five, two of whom should be women. The act made no provision for the Board's convening a conference, and authorized it to establish minimum wages, "adequate to support the necessary cost of living," and to fix maximum hours and sanitary conditions in shops and factories in the cities of the province, all of which may be extended at the pleasure of the Board to include other localities as well. In the sessions of 1920 the jurisdiction of the Board was extended to include hotels and restaurants, to determine the number of apprentices permitted in any shop or factory, and to compel employers to keep a record of the number of hours worked weekly by their employees.²

In the beginning of its work in May, 1919, the Board held meetings in various cities to assist it in determining what was the proper minimum. As a result of their hearings and investigations, the Bureau of Labor stated "that a girl dependent on her own earnings required a sum of \$15 a week to live in reasonable comfort." In July, 1919, without resorting to convening a formal conference of representatives of employers, employees, and the public, the Board itself issued rulings for laundries and factories, shops and stores, and for mail-order houses, which were as follows:

Laundries and factories.—The minimum for all "experienced" females was set at \$14 a week, and "experienced" was defined to mean anyone who had been employed in the industry eighteen months or more. The minimum for the first six months of this learning period was set at \$9.50 a week to be increased \$1.50 every six months. It should be noticed that no special ruling was made for minors, the same provisions as to experienced and inexperienced workers apparently applying to them as to

¹ Royal Statutes Province of Saskatchewan, 1918–19, chap. 84. The text of this law as revised can also be found in *Labor Legislation in Canada as Existing December 31*, 1920, pp. 575–76, published by the Canadian Department of Labor.

² Royal Statutes Province of Saskatchewan 1919-20, chap. 78.

³ Ninth Annual Report of Bureau of Labor, Department of Agriculture, 1920, p. 17.

adults. The provision of the Factories Act fixing fifty hours as the maximum week's work was continued.¹

Shobs and stores.—The minimum for experienced workers in these occupations was set at \$15 a week, or \$1 higher than the minimum for factories and mail-order houses. It is probable that the absence of competition with the other provinces in local mercantile trade enabled the Board to fix this minimum at the amount they had stated to be necessary, while the presence of competition made them fearful of establishing such a high figure as a minimum for factories. The definition of an experienced worker was the same as in the factories order. At first all inexperienced workers were to be paid \$0.50 a week during the first six months, \$11 during the next six months, and \$12.50 during the last half-year, but in 1920 this was changed and all inexperienced workers were divided into three subgroups with special rulings for each. These three subgroups were those in: (a) millinery establishments, (b) dressmaking, tailoring, and fur-lining establishments, and (c) other stores. For the first group a probationary period of six weeks was allowed, during which no wages were stipulated, after which there was to be a further period of apprenticeship of eighteen months. During the first six months the minimum was to be \$5, during the second six months, \$7, and for the last six months, \$10.

In the second group no probationary period was provided and the weekly minimum for the first six months' period was \$5, for the second period, \$8, and for the third, \$12. Finally, the starting wage for all learners in the third group was made \$9.50 for the first six months, to be increased to \$11 during the last half-year.

Forty-eight hours was fixed as the maximum working-week for all classes.²

Mail-order houses.—As has been mentioned, the weekly minimum fixed for this occupation was \$14. Apprentices were to be paid \$8 during the first six months. This amount was to be increased \$2 during each of the next two half-years. A maximum working-week of forty-eight hours was set.³

¹ Order No. 2, Minimum Wage Board, Province of Saskatchewan.

² Order No. 1, Minimum Wage Board (as amended), Province of Saskatchewan.

³ Order No. 3, Minimum Wage Board, Province of Saskatchewan.

Hotels and restaurants.—The Board did not legislate for hotels and restaurants in 1919, due to the fact that these occupations were not specifically mentioned in the original act. After the amendment of 1920 had been passed, however, the Board issued a ruling effective in July of that year, which differed from the orders in other lines chiefly as regards hours, length of apprenticeship, and provision for "living-in." A minimum of \$14 was established for experienced workers. The learning period was set at only three months, or only one-sixth that of the other groups, during which a minimum of \$12 was to be provided. Girls under sixteen years were prohibited from working in these occupations, and night work was forbidden for those under eighteen. Forty-eight hours was established as the normal working-week, but establishments that kept open seven days a week were allowed to work their employees fifty-six hours provided that they paid time-and-a-half rates for all hours over forty-eight. Not more than \$2.50 a week could be deducted for lodging, and not more than \$5.25 for board, if the employee "lived-in."

In 1920 an amendment was passed to the Factories Act lowering the maximum number of hours per week for minors and women from fifty to forty-eight,² and this was naturally incorporated in the minimum wage rulings. In the fall of 1921 the rulings were revised by the following very interesting declaration: "When a female is employed for a less number of hours than forty-eight per week the minimum wage above set forth may be correspondingly reduced."³ This is an explicit ruling that the minimum established should be an hourly, not a weekly minimum, and that the women workers should bear the full loss of wages occasioned by "short-time."

Some results of the rulings.—Only a few over two thousand women have been affected by the regulations. It appears that the minimum has not become the maximum, but approximately one-third of the experienced women in the shops and stores receive just the minimum and nothing more, while over half

¹ Order No. 4, Minimum Wage Board, Province of Saskatchewan.

² Royal Statutes Province of Saskatchewan, 1919-20, chap. 10.

³ Saskatchewan Gazette, October 6, 1921, 6 pages.

the experienced women in laundries and factories are also in this situation.

VI. ONTARIO

Ontario is the chief industrial province of Canada, but although the government was repeatedly urged to enact a minimum wage law, such a measure was not passed until 1920 after a Farmer-Labor alliance had carried the provincial elections and had displaced the Conservative government from power. The act as passed provided for the appointment of a Board of five members with power to investigate wage conditions and establish wage minimums. The Board was given no power to regulate hours or conditions of work² and no standard was set up by the law to be followed in the establishment of the minimum. The Board was authorized to convene conferences of employers and employees of particular occupations and to receive their recommendations, but no compulsion was placed upon the Board either to summon such conferences or to accept their recommendations. The usual provisions were made in regard to defectives and enforcement, and farm laborers and domestic servants were excluded from the provisions of the act.3 An amendment was passed in 1921 giving the Board the power to suspend, vary, or revise its orders in any industry if conditions changed sufficiently, and to establish different rates for different localities.4

The Board was appointed with Professor J. W. Macmillan, who had been the original chairman of the Manitoba Board, as chairman. After drafting rules of procedure and working out the details of organization, it selected the laundry trade as the first to be investigated. It later took up the investigation of mercantile establishments and of certain manufacturing indus-

¹ First Annual Report Bureau of Labor and Industries, Province of Saskatchewan, 1921, p. 27.

² This is in harmony with the general reluctance of farmers' movements, however radical they may be, to restrict the hours of work.

³ For the text of the act see *Labor Laws of Canada as Existing December 31*, 1920, pp. 448–49. Also Royal Statutes Province of Ontario, 1920, chap. 870.

⁴ See Royal Statutes Province of Ontario, 1921, chap. 78. See also *The Minimum Wage Act—Amendments to 1921, and Regulations*, C. W. James, Toronto.

tries. As in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, the Board made its rulings without calling a formal separate conference, but, following the Manitoba example, it has called representatives of both sides to meet with it and after this discussion has issued its rulings. The Board in practice has first issued orders in each group of industries for Toronto and has then later issued orders for those cities and localities which are of smaller size. The industries will now be taken up in turn.

Laundries.—The original order for Toronto fixed a minimum weekly wage of \$12 for experienced adults, with a provision that inexperienced adults should serve an apprenticeship of six months, during the first three months of which the minimum was to be \$10 a week, and during the last three, \$11. Minors under eighteen were to receive at least \$9 weekly during the second six months, and \$11 during the third six months. After this they were to receive the minimum for experienced adults, even if they were still less than eighteen. The number of inexperienced adults in any establishment was not to exceed 25 per cent of the total number of females employed, which percentage was also to serve as the maximum for minors. the event of the worker "living-in," a maximum deduction of \$2 for lodging and \$5 for board was established. In the early summer of 1921 this order was extended with modifications to the rest of the province. The remainder of the province was divided into two groups, (a) cities having over 50,000 population (with the exception of Toronto), and (b) the rest of the province. In the first group the minimum for both experienced and inexperienced adults continued the same as for Toronto, but the wages of minors were lowered to \$7, \$8.50, and \$10 for the three six months' periods. For the localities under 50,000 population the minimum for experienced adults was set at \$11, or \$1 lower than in the larger cities, and the minimum for inexperienced adults was accordingly put at \$9 and \$10 for the two three months' periods, or again \$1 below that of the rest of the province. The minimum for minors, however, was the same as that set for cities

¹ Order No. 1, Minimum Wage Board, Province of Ontario. See also the *Labour Gazette* (Canada), XXI, April, 1921, p. 589.

of the second class. The maximum deduction for "living-in" was also lowered.

The Board has found itself confronted with the problem of the employment of women for less than full time, and in one of their later rulings took cognizance of the situation by providing that part time of less than forty hours per week should be paid on an hourly basis at rates equal to one forty-eighth of the established weekly minimum. To make the system one of hourly minimums therefore the Board was forced to pass judgment as to the "normal" working-week. Forty-eight hours was thus used as the unit in measuring wages, although not established as the maximum.¹

One inconsistency resulted from this decision which deserves to be pointed out. If women worked less than forty hours a week they were to be paid an hourly rate of 25 cents an hour (i.e., $\$12 \div 48$). If however they worked over forty hours, say forty-two, they would apparently be paid the full weekly minimum and therefore a higher hourly rate (i.e., $\$12.00 \div 42 = \$.29-$). An employer who thus furnished more than forty hours of employment per week but less than forty-eight would apparently be compelled to pay a higher hourly wage than one who furnished less than forty.

It should be noted, however, that in general the Board has met the situation of part-time employment by permitting the employers to pay their employees hourly rates. These hourly rates (with the exception of laundries in localities of less than 50,000, as mentioned above) are computed from weekly minimums according to the number of hours in vogue in each establishment. Such a ruling was probably necessary in view of the fact that the Board has no power over maximum hours, but its inevitable result was, of course, to establish differing hourly rates, which varied according to the length of the working week. Thus a plant working a forty-eight-hour week under a \$12.50 weekly minimum would have an hourly rate of 26 cents (i.e., \$12.50 ÷ 48),

¹ For the text of these rulings see Orders No. 4 and 5 of the Minimum Wage Board of the Province of Ontario. See also the *Labour Gazette*, XXI, September, 1921, pp. 1156-57.

while a plant with a fifty-five-hour week would have an hourly rate of only 23 cents (i.e., $$12.50 \div 55$).

Certain manufacturing industries.—In the early summer of 1921 the Board took up the question of manufacturing industries and issued a ruling which at first applied only to Toronto but which in December was extended, with considerable modifications, to other parts of the province as well. These rulings applied however only to the confectionery and cracker trades, and to paper-box, paper-bag, and other allied factories. It did not deal with such important manufacturing industries as those of textiles, clothing, boots and shoes, or printing.

The first order established for Toronto a minimum for experienced adults of \$12.50 with a twelve months' learning period for adults, during which the apprentices were to receive at least \$10 for the first six months and \$11 for the second. For minors an eighteen months' learning period was established, subdivided into three equal parts, during the first of which \$8 was to be paid, during the second, \$9, and during the third, \$10. Not more than one-third of the total female employees could be adult learners and not more than one-third minors, nor could the two together aggregate more than one-half. It was provided that piece work should be so paid as to yield at least the minimum time wages. Provision was made for the payment of the workers at an hourly rate, if employed for less than 36 hours a week.

In December, 1921, rulings for the rest of the province were made for these industries. Three sets of such rulings were made: (a) those for cities of over 50,000 population excepting Toronto, (b) cities between 5,000 and 50,000, and (c) the rest of the province. The minimum wage for experienced adults in the first class of localities was set at \$11.50, or \$1 lower than that for Toronto; a minimum of \$11 was established for those in the second class, and one of \$10 for the third. There was thus a difference of \$2.50 or 20 per cent between the highest and lowest minimum set for the province. The wages for apprentices and

¹ See Order No. 2, Minimum Wage Board, Province of Ontario. Also the Labour Gazette, XXI, September, 1921, pp. 1156-57.

minors, as will be seen from a study of Appendix B, vary in a roughly approximate, though by no means exactly corresponding, ratio to this variation in the wages of experienced adults.¹

Stores and shops.—In accordance with its practice the Board made rulings for retail stores in Toronto before taking up the rest of the province, and in the early summer of 1921 issued its orders for this city. A weekly minimum of \$12.50 was established for experienced adults, and ones of \$10 and \$11 respectively for the first and second six months of apprenticeship.

A complicated system of payment for minors was established which was graduated both according to the age of entrance into the industry and according to the length of service in it. Thus a girl of fourteen would receive a minimum of \$7 a week until she was sixteen, when it would be raised to \$8; this would continue for six months and would then be increased to \$9; at seventeen the minimum would be raised to \$10, and after six months more to \$11; finally upon reaching the age of eighteen the girl would be paid the minimum for adults. On the other hand, a girl entering the industry at the age of sixteen-and-a-half would receive only \$8.50, or 50 cents less than the girl who had entered earlier. Provision was made for payment of female employees at an hourly rate if employed for less than thirty-six hours a week.²

In November orders were also issued for cities other than Toronto, of over 50,000 population.³ The November decision authorized a minimum of \$12 for experienced women and a year's period of apprenticeship for adults, during the first six months of which the worker was to receive at least \$10 a week and during the second \$11. Minors under eighteen were to receive \$8 per week for the first six months, \$9 for the second, \$10 for the third, and \$11 for the fourth. This graduated system may continue after eighteen if the girl entered the industry after sixteen, but in no case shall she receive after eighteen the mini-

¹ See Orders Nos. 7, 8, and 9 of the Minimum Wage Board of the Province of Ontario. See also the *Labour Gazette*, XXII, January, 1921, pp. 71-72.

² See Order No. 3, Minimum Wage Board, Province of Ontario. Also the *Labour Gazette*, XXII, September, 1921, pp. 1156-57.

³ At the time of writing no decision has been made by the Board for the smaller centers of population.

mum prescribed for the experienced adult of her own age.¹ The rulings concerning part-time work and the proportion of inexperienced adults and of minors are the same as in the order for Toronto.

These rulings for retail stores apply not only to the actual saleswomen, but also to cashiers, parcellers, messengers, and other employees working directly with the sales force. They do not apply, however, to the office workers in the stores.

The Board has not yet issued orders applying to the other manufacturing industries, to office work, hotels, and restaurants, nor to places of public amusement.

VII. NOVA SCOTIA

In 1919 an act was passed by the provincial legislature authorizing the appointment of a commission "to inquire into and to report on the hours of labor, wages, and working conditions of women employed in industrial occupations." This commission was appointed and made a report in 1920 recommending the passing of a minimum wage

TABLE III

Wages of Women Workers in Manufacturing Industries of Nova Scotia in 1920 Based on Returns from Forty-nine Establishments*

Earnings Per Week	Number Receiving Specified Wage	Percentage Receiv- ing Specified Wage	Cumulative Per Cent Receiving Specified Wage
\$ 5.00 and under	100	4.9	4.9
5.01-6.00	107	5.3	10.2
6.01- 7.00		8.4	18.6
7.01-8.00		10.5	29.1
8.01-9.00	248	12.2	41.3
9.01–10.00	316	15.5	56.8
10.01-11.00	215	10.6	67.4
11.01-12.00	163	8.0	75.4
12.01-14.00	186	9.2	84.6
14.01-16.00	152	7.5	92.1
16.01-18.00	71	3.5	95.6
18.01-22.00	60	3.0	98.6
22.01-25.00	20	1.0	99.6
Over 25.00	8	.4	100.00
Totals	2,031	100.0	100.00
		1	

^{*} Report of Commission on Hours of Work, Wages, etc., Nova Scotia, 1920, pp. 16-17.

¹ Order No. 6, Minimum Wage Board, Province of Ontario. Also the *Labour Gazette*, XXI, December, 1921, pp. 1485–86.

law, similar to those of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, which would provide for the appointment of a board "representative of women workers, employers, and the public" with power to determine wages, hours, and conditions of labor, not only for women in factories but in shops, offices, restaurants, and hotels as well.¹ The investigation made by the commission disclosed the low wages that a large proportion of the women workers were then receiving, a summary of which will be found in Table III.

It will be seen from these figures that 29 per cent of the women received less than \$8 a week, approximately 57 per cent received less than \$10, and 75 per cent received less than \$12. The average hours of work per week were found to be 50.4 although the three largest concerns in the province, employing together over one thousand women, had a working-week of fifty-five hours.

Largely as a result of the report of this commission together with the general sentiment which had been created in favor of the minimum wage, the legislature passed a minimum wage measure in 1920 providing for the creation of a board of five members, two of whom were to be women. This Board was empowered to fix for both factories and shops wages "adequate to furnish the necessary cost of living" and to establish hours and conditions of work. The usual provisions concerning enforcement, defectives, and apprentices were also included, and the act was to apply only to the cities and incorporated towns unless extended by an Order-in-Council.²

The last clause of the measure however contained the following significant proviso: "This Act shall come into force on . . . and not before such day as the governor-in-council orders and declares by proclamation." This therefore made it only discretionary upon the part of the cabinet whether it would put the act into effect. Thus far the cabinet has not done so, and therefore the Minimum Wage Act is not yet in force in Nova Scotia.

¹ Report of Commission on the Hours of Labor, Wages and Working Conditions of Women Employed in Industrial Occupations, Province of Nova Scotia, 1920.

² Nova Scotia Statutes, 1920, chap. 11.

³ Ibid., sec. 15.

VIII. QUEBEC

In March, 1919, a Minimum Wage Act was passed in Quebec, the second industrial province of Canada, but like the Nova Scotia measure it is not yet in operation. The act as passed provided that an unpaid commission of three, one of whom was to be the deputy minister of labor, "may" be appointed. The commissioner was authorized to investigate and fix wages paid in industrial establishments. The commission was not given power to fix either hours or working conditions, nor indeed to establish minimum wage rates other than in manufacturing industries—women in stores, hotels, restaurants, offices, etc., being excluded from the act. The commission was authorized to convene a conference to make recommendations to it concerning particular industries, but the commission was empowered not only either to accept or reject their recommendations but to amend them as well.

The final section provides that the act shall come into force on the day of its sanction, but the government has not appointed the commission and the act therefore is, for all practical purposes, at present inoperative.²

IX. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Bringing together our analysis of the Canadian Minimum Wage Laws and Rulings, what shall we regard as their most important characteristics? Are they not the following:

- 1. The almost universal principle in the laws that the wages fixed shall be based on the "necessary cost of living." No mention, save possibly in the 1921 amendment to the Ontario Act, is made of the financial condition of the industry as a criterion. The example of the Oregon law rather than that of Massachusetts has therefore been followed.
- 2. The nominal inclusion of men under the flat-rate law of Alberta and the special miners' Minimum Wage Act of British
 - ¹ Royal Statutes Province of Quebec, 9 George V, chap. 11.
- ² Government officials state that the failure of the cabinet to appoint a commission has been due to the facts: (1) that the labor leaders have objections to the idea of an unpaid commission and (2) the business depression. A leader of the labor movement in Quebec denies that the first statement is true.

Columbia show that the governmental regulation of men's wages would be much more possible in Canada than in the United States under our present legal theory. In the main, however, Canada shows a reluctance to follow England and Australia in extending the protection of the minimum wage to men, and rather copies the American commonwealths in restricting its application to women and to female minors.¹

- 3. The differing jurisdictions of the Minimum Wage Boards or Commissions. Those authorized by the laws of British Columbia, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, and Saskatchewan have power over hours and conditions of labor as well as wages, while those of Ontario and Quebec have jurisdiction over wages alone. In Nova Scotia and Saskatchewan these powers are subject to the provisions of the provincial factory acts. The experience of British Columbia and Ontario however indicates that it is impossible permanently to consider wages apart from the number of hours to be worked.
- 4. The much smaller rôle of the advisory boards or "conferences" in comparison to their position in the United States. Three of the four provinces with active boards, namely Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Ontario, have set wages directly without calling formal separate bodies into existence. The remaining province, British Columbia, has indeed established such conferences, but the Board itself is given power to fix the wages of minors and adult apprentices independently of the conference and has upon occasion done so. The as yet inoperative Quebec law gives the Minimum Wage Commission power not only to reject or approve, but also to amend—the latter a power that the Minimum Wage Commissions of Oregon and Washington for example do not possess.
- 5. The tendency to establish varying wage limits and working standards within a province not only for different industries but also for different localities as well. Thus in British Columbia
- ¹ In many of the minimum wage states of the United States male minors are nominally at least, included in the regulations of the Boards.
- ² The peculiar status of the meetings with employers and employees in Manitoba and Ontario has already been explained (pp. 172 and 179).
- ³ In the case of the regulations concerning learners and apprentices in the mercantile and laundry trades.

Province and Date of Enactment	Body Empowered to Administer Laws	METHOD OF SELECTING OCCUPATION OR INDUSTRY TO BE CONSIDERED BY THIS BODY	METHODS OF ARRIVING AT WAGE AWARDS	JURISDICTION OF C MISSION AS REGAI HOURS AND CONDI OF WORK
ALBERTA, 1917. * R.S.A. 1917, chap. 20. R.S.A. 1919, chap. 4. R.S.A. 1920, chap. 40.	Chief factory inspector.		Minimum wage fixed by law; flat rate	No jurisdiction over and conditions of Factories Act lishes nine-hour which may be ex by inspector.
BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1918 R.S.B.C. 1918, chap. 56. R.S.B.C. 1919, chap. 61.	"Minimum Wage Board," to consist of three members, one of whom shall be the deputy minister of labor, who shall be the chairman of the Board. One member shall be a woman. The Board to be appointed by the lieutenant-governor-in-council to hold office during pleasure. No salary to be paid to members.	Board. Board has full power to examine all books, pay rolls, and other records for its information, with full and true statement by employer of wages paid. A register of names, ages, and addresses of all	which representatives of employers and employees may be heard, together with all persons interested. At this meeting evidence is submitted and witnesses heard, after which the matter may be submitted to a con-	conditions of wor maximum hour amendment of (R.S.B.C. 1919, 61)
BRITISH COLUMBIA. R.S.B.C. 1919, chap. 58. Coal Miners' Minimum Wage Board.	"Coal Miners' Minimum Wage Board," to consist of chief inspector of mines as chairman and two other members one appointed by the mine owners and one by the coal miners, to hold office during pleasure. This body has never been created.		A public meeting shall be held, to enable all interested parties to be present.	Board given no over hours or cond These regulated Coal Miners' H tions Act. An hour day provid this Act.
Малітова, 1918. R.S.M. 1918, No. 140. R.S.M. 1919, No. 17.	"Minimum Wage Board," to consist of five persons, as follows: two repre- sentatives of employers, one of whom shall be a female; two representatives of employees, one to be a female; and one disinterested person as chairman of the Board. Members of the Board to be paid for their services and expenses as may be determined by the lieutenant-governor-in-council.	tempt of the Board. The Board has all the powers, rights, and privileges that are vested in the King's Benchof	directly. In practice, the Board has met with representatives of employers and employees. This body however makes no formal recommendations.	conditions of wor maximum hours.
Nova Scotia, 1920. R.S.N.S. 1920, chap. 11.	"Minimum Wage Board," to consist of five members, two of whom shall be females. Members appointed by governor-in-council, and shall be paid for their services and expenses.	Investigation at the discretion of Board. Board has full powers, privileges, and immunities of commissioners appointed under Public Inquiries Act 1909. Employers must keep register of names, addresses, and actual earnings of all employees, which shall be open to inspection of Board.	in Act for creation of separate trade- board conferences.	Board given power maximum hours conditions of work
Ontario, 1920. R.S.O. 1920, chap. 87. R.S.O. 1921, chap. 78.	"Minimum Wage Board" of five persons, two of whom shall be women, appointed by lieutenant-governor-incouncil. One member to be named as chairman, who shall hold office during pleasure. Of the remaining members of the Board, two shall be appointed in the first instance for one year, and two for two years, every member subsequently appointed for a term of five years. A member absent from three successive meetings of the Board is automatically suspended. Members to be paid a per diem allowance with traveling expenses.	affected.	After investigation the Board summons representatives of the employers and employees to meet with them, but does not create a separate trade-board conference.	fix either max
Queвес, 1919. R.S.Q. 1919, chap. 11.	"A commission" of three members, one of whom shall be the deputy minister of labor, who shall be chairman; and one of whom shall be a woman; to be appointed by the lieutenant-governor-in-council, during pleasure. No member to receive remuneration for services.	Investigation at discretion of commission. Has full power to examine books, etc.	Act not actively in operation. The Act provides that the commission may hold sittings and summon any person to appear before it. A conference may then be convened; an equal number of employers and employees, with a number of disinterested persons. A member of commission to be chairman of the conference. The conference, by majority vote of members, determines the minimum wage to be paid. The decision shall then be submitted to the commission, which may approve, reject or amend, the same, or may order the holding of a new conference.	The commission h power to fix max hours or conditic work. The Ind Establishments Ac vides for a ten-hou and sixty-hour which may be ext by the inspect twelve a day seventy-two a wee
SASKATCHEWAN, 1918. R.S.S. 1918–19, chap. 84. R.S.S. 1920, chap. 78. R.S.S. 1920, chap. 186.	"Minimum Wage Board," to consist of five persons, two of whom shall be females, to hold office during pleasure. Members shall be paid such compen- sation for their services and expenses as may be determined by lieutenant- governor-in-council.	Investigation at discretion of Board. Board has full power to make all necessary investigations and inquiries. Employers must keep register of names and addresses, the working hours, and the actual earnings of his employees, which shall be open to the Board.	No provision made in Act for calling of a conference. Policy of holding public meetings is followed, at which evidence is submitted and from which the awards issued by the Board itself are based.	Board given author fix hours of employ and sanitary con and requirement employees.

^{*} The text of the 1922 Alberta law was received too late to

JURISDICTION OF COM- MISSION AS REGARDS HOURS AND CONDITIONS OF WORK	Means Provided for Securing Enforce- ment of Award	PRINCIPLES BY Which AMOUNT OF AWARD IS DETERMINED	Occupations or Industries Covered by Law	CLASS OF Employees Covered by Law	Apprentices, Learners, and Minors	Exceptions
e No jurisdiction over hours and conditions of work. Factories Act estab- lishes nine-hour day which may be extended by inspector.	mum fine, \$25.	No standards set.	"Any factory, shop, office, or office building."	All employees in occupations covered by Act, male and female.		Shops, offices, and office build- ings in cities or towns of less than 5,000.
t Board given power to fix conditions of work and maximum hours by amendment of 1919 (R.S.B.C. 1919, chap. 61)	\$25 to \$100. Employ- ees may recover back	Amount "adequate to supply the necessary cost of living."	"Every female person who is in receipt of or en- titled to any compensa- tion for labor or for services performed."	Women, adult apprentices (over eighteen years), and girls (under cighteen years)	Special licenses may be granted to physical defectives and to apprentices. Number of such not to exceed one-seventh of whole number of employees.	fruit pickers, and domestic serv- ents.
Board given no powers over hours or conditions. These regulated by Coal Miners' Regula- tions Act. An eight- hour day provided by this Act.	Violation of law a misde- meanor. Fine of from \$10 to \$100 and over. Employee may recover back wages with costs.		"All coal miners in the province."	All persons employed in coal mines.		
r Board empowered to fix conditions of work and maximum hours.	Penalty of fine of from \$25 to \$100 or imprisonment or both for the violation of Act by employers. Employees may recover back wages with costs.	Amount "adequate to supply necessary cost of living to employees and maintain them in health."	"Any shop, mail-order house, or factory, offices and places of amusement in any city of Manitoba."	apprentices.	Special licenses may be granted to physical de- fectives and to learners.	than cities.
s Board given power to fix maximum hours and conditions of work.	Penalty of fine of from \$25 \$100 for employers violating law. Em- ployees may recover back wages with costs.	Amount "adequate to supply necessary cost of living."	"Any female person who is in receipt of or who is entitled to any compensation for labor or services performed in a factory or shop."		Special licenses may be granted to physical de- fectives and to apprentices.	All occupations outside of those classified as "fac- tories or shops."
Board given no power to if ix either maximum hours or conditions of work. Factory and Shop Act provides for maximum ten-hour day and sixty-hour week.	Penalty of fine of from \$50 to \$500 for employer who violates law. Up- on conviction employer must pay back wages to employees.	"If it is determined the scale of wages is inade- quate or unfair."	Every female person in "any trade or occupa- tion in Ontario who works for wages."		Handicapped employees, part- time employees and apprentices may be paid a lower wage than the minimum fixed for others. Board empowered to limit their number.	Farm laborers and domestic serv- ants.
The commission has no power to fix maximum hours or conditions of work. The Industrial Establishments Act provides for a ten-hour day and sixty-hour week, which may be extended by the inspector to twelve a day and seventy-two a week.	Fine of not more than \$50 for employers violating the law. Employees may recover back wages with costs.	If commission is of opinion wages are insufficient.	Industrial establishments in province of Quebec.	All female workers.	Special permit may be issued to ap- prentices or those physically defec- tive for whom lower rates may be fixed. Special scale may be fixed for females under eighteen.	All occupations and trades not covered by the term "Industrial Establishments," i.e., hotels, offices, stores, etc.
Board given authority to fix hours of employment and sanitary conditions and requirements for employees.	Penalty of fine of from \$10 to \$100 for employers violating the law. Employees may recover back wages with costs.	"Adequate to furnish the necessary cost of liv- ing."	"Every shop or factory" including hotels, restaurants, etc.	All female workers.	Special licenses may be issued to physical defec- fectives and to learners.	covered by term stated in Act.

as received too late to permit of its inclusion in this table.

PROVINCE AND DATE OF ENACTMENT	Body Empowered to Administer · Laws	METHOD OF SELECTING OCCUPATION OR INDUSTRY TO BE CONSIDERED BY THIS BODY	METHODS OF ARRIVING AT WAGE AWARDS	JURISDICTION OF C MISSION AS REGA HOURS AND CONDI OF WORK
Alberta, 1917. * R.S.A. 1917, chap. 20. R.S.A. 1919, chap. 4. R.S.A. 1920, chap. 40.	Chief factory inspector.		Minimum wage fixed by law; flat rate	
BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1918 R.S.B.C. 1918, chap. 56. R.S.B.C. 1919, chap. 61.	"Minimum Wage Board," to consist of three members, one of whom shall be the deputy minister of labor, who shall be the chairman of the Board. One member shall be a woman. The Board to be appointed by the lieutenant-governor-in-council to hold office during pleasure. No salary to be paid to members.	Board. Board has full power to examine all books, pay rolls, and other records for its information, with full and true statement by employer of wages paid. A register of names, ages, and addresses of all	which representatives of employers and employees may be heard, together with all persons interested. At this meeting evidence is submitted and witnesses heard, after which the	conditions of wo maximum hou amendment of (R.S.B.C. 1919, 61)
BRITISH COLUMBIA. R.S.B.C. 1919, chap. 58. Coal Miners' Minimum Wage Board.	"Coal Miners' Minimum Wage Board," to consist of chief inspector of mines as chairman and two other members one appointed by the mine owners and one by the coal miners, to hold office during pleasure. This body has never been created.		A public meeting shall be held, to enable all interested parties to be present.	
Мамітова, 1918. R.S.M. 1918, No. 140. R.S.M. 1919, No. 17.	"Minimum Wage Board," to consist of five persons, as follows: two representatives of employers, one of whom shall be a female; two representatives of employees, one to be a female; and one disinterested person as chairman of the Board. Members of the Board to be paid for their services and expenses as may be determined by the lieutenant-governor-in-council.	Board has full powers to conduct all necessary inquiries and investigations, enforce attendance of witnesses, etc., and may punish persons guilty of contempt of the Board. The Board has all the powers, rights, and privileges that are vested in the King's Benchof	No provision is made in the Act for calling of a conference. Board may act directly. In practice, the Board has met with representatives of employers and employees. This body however makes no formal recommendations.	conditions of wor
Nova Scotta, 1920. R.S.N.S. 1920, chap. 11.	"Minimum Wage Board," to consist of five members, two of whom shall be females. Members appointed by governor-in-council, and shall be paid for their services and expenses.	Investigation at the discretion of Board. Board has full powers, privileges, and immunities of commissioners appointed under Public Inquiries Act 1909. Employers must keep register of names, addresses, and actual earnings of all employees, which shall be open to inspection of Board.	No wage awards issued. No provisions in Act for creation of separate trade- board conferences.	Board given power maximum hours conditions of work
ONTARIO, 1920. R.S.O. 1920, chap. 87. R.S.O. 1921, chap. 78.	"Minimum Wage Board" of five persons, two of whom shall be women, appointed by lieutenant-governor-incouncil. One member to be named as chairman, who shall hold office during pleasure. Of the remaining members of the Board, two shall be appointed in the first instance for one year, and two for two years, every member subsequently appointed for a term of five years. A member absent from three successive meetings of the Board is automatically suspended. Members to be paid a per diem allowance with traveling expenses.	Investigation at the discretion of the Board. Board has power to examine books, etc.: employers must keep a register with list of employees, ages, and addresses, to be open to inspection by the Board. The Board may also call a conference of employees and employers in the industry affected.	After investigation the Board summons representatives of the employers and employees to meet with them, but does not create a separate trade-board conference.	Board given no por fix either man hours or condition work. Factory Shop Act provid maximum ten-hou and sixty-hour w
QUEBEC, 1919. R.S.Q. 1919, chap. 11.	"A commission" of three members, one of whom shall be the deputy minister of labor, who shall be chairman; and one of whom shall be a woman; to be appointed by the lieutenant-governor-in-council, during pleasure. No member to receive remuneration for services.	Investigation at discretion of commission. Has full power to examine books, etc.	Act not actively in operation. The Act provides that the commission may hold sittings and summon any person to appear before it. A conference may then be convened; an equal number of employers and employees, with a number of disinterested persons. A member of commission to be chairman of the conference. The conference, by majority vote of members, determines the minimum wage to be paid. The decision shall then be submitted to the commission, which may approve, reject or amend, the same, or may order the holding of a new conference.	The commission h power to fix max hours or condition work. The Ind Establishments At vides for a ten-hou and sixty-hour which may be ext by the inspect twelve a day seventy-two a week sixty week and the seventy-two a week sixty was a week sixty with the sixty was a week sixty with the sixty was a week sixty with the sixty was a week sixty was a week sixty was a week sixty with the sixty was a week sixty was a weak sixty was a week sixty was a w
SASKATCHEWAN, 1918. R.S.S. 1918-19, chap. 84. R.S.S. 1920, chap. 78. R.S.S. 1920, chap. 186.	"Minimum Wage Board," to consist of five persons, two of whom shall be females, to hold office during pleasure. Members shall be paid such compen- sation for their services and expenses as may be determined by lieutenant- governor-in-council.	Investigation at discretion of Board. Board has full power to make all necessary investigations and inquir- ies. Employers must keep register of names and addresses, the working hours, and the actual earnings of his employees, which shall be open to the Board.	No provision made in Act for calling of a conference. Policy of holding public meetings is followed, at which evidence is submitted and from which the awards issued by the Board itself are based.	Board given author fix hours of employ and sanitary cond and requirement employees.
1			* The text of the 1922 Alberta law wa	s received too late to

^{*} The text of the 1922 Alberta law was received too late to

	JURISDICTION OF COM- MISSION AS REGARDS HOURS AND CONDITIONS OF WORK	MEANS PROVIDED FOR SECURING ENFORCE- MENT OF AWARD	PRINCIPLES BY Which AMOUNT OF AWARD IS DETERMINED	Occupations or Industries Covered by Law	CLASS OF EMPLOYEES COVERED BY LAW	Apprentices, Learners, and Minors	Exceptions
te	No jurisdiction over hours and conditions of work. Factories Act estab- lishes nine-hour day which may be extended by inspector.	Penalty of fine. Maximum fine, \$25.	No standards set.	"Any factory, shop, office, or office building."	All employees in occupations covered by Act, male and female.		Shops, offices, and office buildings in cities or towns of less than 5,000.
transide nerde etois ne averw	Board given power to fix conditions of work and maximum hours and maximum hours of 1919 (R.S.B.C. 1919, chap. 61)	\$25 to \$100. Employ- ees may recover back	supply the necessary	"Every female person who is in receipt of or en- titled to any compensa- tion for labor or for services performed."	apprentices (over eighteen	Special licenses may be granted to physical defectives and to apprentices. Number of such not to exceed one-seventh of whole number of employees.	Farm laborers, fruit pickers, and domestic servents.
e e	Board given no powers over hours or conditions. These regulated by Coal Miners' Regula- tions Act. An eight- hour day provided by this Act.	meanor. Fine of from	No standard set.	"All coal miners in the province."	All persons employed in coal mines.		
or et as rs er s.	Board empowered to fix conditions of work and maximum hours.	Penalty of fine of from \$25 to \$100 or imprisonment or both for the violation of Act by employers. Employees may recover back wages with costs.	Amount "adequate to supply necessary cost of living to employees and maintain them in health."	"Any shop, mail-order house, or factory, offices and places of amusement in any city of Manitoba."	apprentices, and minors in	Special licenses may be granted to physical de- fectives and to learners.	Localities other than cities. All occupations not specifically covered by Act. Public institu- tions.
is >	Board given power to fix maximum hours and conditions of work.	Penalty of fine of from \$25 \$100 for employers violating law. Em- ployees may recover back wages with costs.	Amount "adequate to supply necessary cost of living."	"Any female person who is in receipt of or who is entitled to any compensation for labor or services performed in a factory or shop."		Special licenses may be granted to physical de- fectives and to apprentices.	All occupations outside of those classified as "fac- tories or shops."
gd t	Board given no power to fix either maximum hours or conditions of work. Factory and Shop Act provides for maximum ten-hour day and sixty-hour week.	Penalty of fine of from \$50 to \$500 for employer who violates law. Upon conviction employer must pay back wages to employees.	"If it is determined the scale of wages is inade- quate or unfair."	Every female person in "any trade or occupa- tion in Ontario who works for wages."		Handicapped employees, part-time employees and apprentices may be paid a lower wage than the minimum fixed for others. Board empowered to limit their number.	Farm laborers and domestic servants.
tynell, nenllere	The commission has no power to fix maximum hours or conditions of work. The Industrial Establishments Act provides for a ten-hour day and sixty-hour week, which may be extended by the inspector to twelve a day and seventy-two a week.	Fine of not more than \$50 for employers violating the law. Employees may recover back wages with costs.	If commission is of opin- ion wages are insuffi- cient.	Industrial establishments in province of Quebec.	All female workers.	Special permit may be issued to ap- prentices or those physically defec- tive for whom lower rates may be fixed. Special scale may be fixed for females under eighteen.	All occupations and trades not covered by the term "Industrial Establishments," i.e., hotels, offices, stores, etc.
f	Board given authority to fix hours of employment and sanitary conditions and requirements for employees.	Penalty of fine of from \$10 to \$100 for employers violating the law. Em- ployees may recover back wages with costs.	"Adequate to furnish the necessary cost of liv- ing."	"Every shop or factory" including hotels, res- taurants, etc.	All female workers.	Special licenses may be issued to physical defec- fectives and to learners.	covered by term stated in Act.

ras received too late to permit of its inclusion in this table.

the weekly minimum for the various industries ranges from \$12.75 to \$15. In Ontario, while there is slight variation between industries, the chief differences in the wage scale are based on locality. As has been mentioned, there are four differing minimums in the confectionery and paper manufacturing industries, varying according to the size of the locality; there are three such minimums for laundries, and when the mercantile rulings have been completed there will be either three or four in this line of work as well.

- 6. The tendency, despite these variations, in the western provinces at least to establish minimum wage levels in those industries where there is interprovincial competition, which are, either exactly similar or not widely at variance. Thus the weekly minimum for manufacturing is \$14 in British Columbia and Saskatchewan and \$12 in most of the factories in Manitoba. This was roughly in correspondence with the minimum wages of the Pacific Coast states which from 1918 to approximately 1920 had a quite uniform minimum of \$13.20 and \$13.50.
- 7. The successful use by the dominant political parties of the device of the Order-in-Council as a means of delaying or preventing the actual adoption of the minimum wage. the legislatures of Alberta, Nova Scotia, and Quebec have all passed minimum wage laws authorizing the appointment of a commission to fix wages. But these acts have been so worded as to make it volitional upon the part of the cabinet whether such commissions should be appointed or whether, once appointed, their recommendations should be promulgated. It has accordingly been possible for the governments to take advantage of their delegated legislative powers and to withhold their sanction, thus making the laws ineffective. It has thus been possible for individual legislators to conciliate large sections of their constituents by yielding to the pressure and voting for the proposed bill, but for the cabinet to delay its sanction in the hope that the popular sentiment would abate. There is this merit however in this system of delegated legislative powers, that it is accompanied by a system of responsible government and that

¹ In 1920 Washington established a higher minimum for hotels and restaurants. California has also raised her general minimum level.

the cabinet must answer at the polls for its deeds of commission and omission. If it thus "pocket-vetoes" a measure, the people can fasten definite responsibility upon it and the party it represents, and can punish the party at the next election, even though the skirts of the individual members of the legislature may be ostensibly clean.

- 8. That so far as the experience of the one province (i.e., British Columbia) upon which we have reliable data is concerned, the introduction of the minimum wage has by no means resulted in the minimum becoming the maximum, although it has produced a considerably greater uniformity of wages than existed before by leveling up the wages of the more poorly paid workers.
- q. The attempts to cope with the problem of short-time and irregular employment. While the early attempt of British Columbia to enforce weekly minimums, rather than hourly rates, was checked by legal opinion, Manitoba has, in the main, carried out such a system and has thus fully protected the employee from the losses incident to irregular employment (aside from absenteeism) during the week. British Columbia has, in its regulation of amusement places, provided higher hourly rates for those employed less than thirty-six hours a week than for those employed more. It is highly desirably (a) that the power of the boards in Ontario and Quebec be extended to include hours as well as weekly wages; (b) that the principle of forcing employers to stabilize their production and lessen the irregularity of employment should be further developed and extended. Apparently the best method of dealing with this problem is that of the penalty differential wage for short time. Both Manitoba and British Columbia have at least pointed the way along which future progress should proceed.¹

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¹ For the importance of irregular employment see Irene Osgood Andrews, "The Relation of Irregular Employment to the Living Wage for Women," Fourth Annual Report, New York State Factory Investigating Commission. For the attempts of some American states to meet the situation see Dorothy W. Douglas, "American Minimum Wage Laws at Work," American Economic Review, IX, December, 1919, pp. 721-24.

TABLE V. ANALYSIS OF AWARDS ISSUED UNDER CANADIAN MINIMUM W

			Adult Apprei	TICES		Minors		
Date Award Effective	Occupation	Wages of Adults (Per Week)	Apprenticeship and Constituent Periods (in Months)	Wages of Apprentices per Week	Years of Inexperience for Minors	Sub-Periods in Months	Wages per Week	App
	Any factory, shop, of- fice, or office build- ing	\$ 9.00		\$ 6.00		(3	\$ 6.00 7.50 8.00	Appr
British Columbia February 24, 1919	Mercantile industry	12.75 26 9–16 cents per hour	$12 \cdot \dots \cdot \begin{cases} 3 \\ 3 \\ 3 \\ 3 \end{cases}$	9.00 10.00 11.00 12.00	2	3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3	8.50 9.00 9.50 10.00 10.50 11.00	exc
March 31, 1919	Laundry, cleaning and dyeing industries	13.50 28 1–8 cents per hour	$12.\ldots \left\{egin{array}{c} 4 \ 4 \ 4 \end{array} ight.$	9.00 10.50 12.00	2	(4 4 4 4 4	8.00 8.50 9.00 10.00 11.00	Appr ica ex-
August 16, 1919	Public housekeeping occupations	14.00	No length of apprenticeship stated	12.00	Length of period not stated	4	12.00 12.00 12.00	Appr tiv 14
August 16, 1919	Office occupations	15.00 \$65.00 per month	$12.\ldots$ $\begin{cases} 3\\3\\3\\3 \end{cases}$	11.00 12.00 13.00 14.00	2	{6 6 6 6	11.00 12.00 13.00 14.00	Appr tiv 14
September 1, 1919	Manufacturing indus- tries	14.00	Award not settled, pending investiga- tion in the different branches of industry		Award not settled, pending investiga- tion in the different branches of industry			Appr tiv 14
September 15, 1919	Personal service oc- cupations	14.25	Licenses issued at the discretion of the Board		2	6 6 6	10.00 11.00 12.00	Appr tiv 14
September 15, 1919	Ushers in theaters, music halls, concert rooms, and lecture halls: (a) Engaged after 6 P.M. on legal holidays and special matinees; (b) working more than 18 hours, and not in excess of 36; (c) working more than 36 hours	(e) 14.25	No licenses issued to apprentices	:	No licenses issued to minors		13.00	
April 5, 1920	Telephone and tele- graph occupations	15.00	$19.\ldots\ldots \begin{cases} 3\\3\\3 \end{cases}$	11.00 12.00 13.00	Provisions made for only two classes: experienced and in- experienced			. Inex mi no
February 28, 1920	Fishing industry	15.50	$12.\ldots\ldots egin{cases} rac{4}{4} \ 4 \end{cases}$	12.75 13.75 14.75	Provisions made for only experienced and inexperienced, re- gardless of age	••••••		Appr tiv 14
February 28, 1920	Fruit and vegetable industry	14.00 30 cents per hour for all over 8 hours per day 45 cents per hour for all over 10 hours per day	$3.\ldots\ldots$ $\begin{cases} 1\\1\\1 \end{cases}$	10.00 11.00 12.00	Provisions for experi- enced and inexperi- enced workers the same as for those above 18 years			Appr tiv 14
Manitoba July 27, 1918	Laundries	11.00	$6.\dots \{rac{3}{3}$	9.00 10.00	11/2	{6 6 6	8.00 8.50 9.00	Adul ex 25
September 24, 1918 November 26, 1921	Pickles group	11.00	$6.\dots igg(rac{3}{3}igg)$	9.00 10.00	1	{4 4 4	8.00 9.00 10.00	Lear no
September 24, 1918 November 26, 1921	Macaroni and vermi- celli group	11.00	6{3	9.00 10.00	1	{4 4 4	8.00 9.00 10.00	Lear no
September 24, 1918 November 26, 1921	Groceries group	11.00	$6.\dotsinom{3}{3}$	9.00 10.00	1	{4 4 4	8.00 9.00 10.00	Lean no

ALYSIS OF AWARDS ISSUED UNDER CANADIAN MINIMUM WAGE LAWS

Adult Apprentices			Minors				
pprenticeship and nstituent Periods (in Months)	Wages of Apprentices per Week	Years of Inexperience for Minors	Sub-Periods in Months	Wages per Week	Percentage of Apprentices, Minors, etc., Permitted	Hours (per Week)	Other Provisions
$12. \qquad \begin{cases} 3\\ 3\\ 3\\ 3 \end{cases}$	9.00 10.00 11.00 12.00	2	3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3	\$ 6.00 7.50 8.00 8.50 9.00 9.50 10.00 10.50 11.00	Apprentices and physical defectives not to exceed 10%	10 hours per day	
$12.\ldots \left\{egin{array}{c} 4 \ 4 \ 4 \end{array} ight.$	9.00 10.50 12.00	2	4 4 4 4	8.00 8.50 9.00 10.00 11.00	Apprentices and physical defectives not to exceed 10%	No provision	
length of appren- ceship stated	12.00	Length of period not stated		12.00 12.00	Apprentices and defectives not to exceed 14.3%	48, all over to be paid time and a half; maximum, 52	Maximum deduction of \$3.00 per week for lodging and \$5.25 a week for board
$12.\ldots \begin{cases} 3\\3\\3\\3\\3 \end{cases}$	11.00 12.00 13.00 14.00	2	66 66 66	11.00 12.00 13.00 14.00	Apprentices and defec- tives not to exceed 14.3%	48	
ard not settled, ending investiga- on in the different ranches of industry		Award not settled, pending investiga- tion in the different branches of industry			tives not to exceed 14.3%	mendation of con- ference for 44 hour week rejected)	
enses issued at the iscretion of the oard licenses issued to oppentices		No licenses issued to minors	6 6 6 6	10.00 11.00 12.00 13.00	Apprentices and defectives not to exceed 14.3%		
$19.\dots$ $\begin{cases} 3\\3\\3 \end{cases}$	11.00 12.00 13.00	Provisions made for only two classes: experienced and in- experienced			Inexperienced (both minors and adults) not to exceed 35%	8 per day; 48 basic week; time and half for overtime; max- imum of 56; night work from 10 P.M. to 8 A.M. to be regarded as 8 hours	
$12.\ldots$ $\begin{cases} 4\\4\\4 \end{cases}$	12.75 13.75 14.75	Provisions made for only experienced and inexperienced, re- gardless of age	••••••		Apprentices and defec- tives not to exceed 14.3%	No provision	
$3 \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \begin{cases} 1 \\ 1 \\ 1 \end{cases}$	10.00 11.00 12.00	Provisions for experi- enced and inexperi- enced workers the same as for those above 18 years		•••••	Apprentices and defectives not to exceed 14.3%	at rate of 30 cents an	-
$6.\ldots$ ${3 \choose 3}$	9.00 10.00	13	{6 6 6	8.00 8.50 9.00	Adult learners not to exceed 25%; minors 25%	9 per day, 52 per week. Saturday half-holi- day	36 days per year, payment at regular hourly rates 2. Deduction of \$2.00 a week for lodging and \$4.00 for board, \$5.50
$6.\dots$ ${3 \choose 3}$	9.00 10.00	1	$\begin{cases} \frac{4}{4} \\ \frac{4}{4} \end{cases}$	8.00 9.00 10.00	Learners and minors not to exceed 25%	9 per day, 48 per week one afternoon half- holiday per week	30 days per year, not to exceed 3 hours per day or 6 per week 2. Maximum deduction of \$2.00 for lodging, \$4.50
$6.\ldots$ ${3 \choose 3}$	9.00 10.00	1	{4 4 4	8.00 9.00 10.00	Learners and minors not to exceed 25%	9 per day, 48 per week one afternoon half- holiday per week	30 days per year, not to exceed 3 hours per day, or 6 per week 2. Maximum deduction of \$2.00 for lodging, \$4.50
6 ${3 \choose 3}$	9.00 10.00	1	$ \begin{cases} \frac{4}{4} \\ \frac{4}{4} \end{cases} $	8.00 9.00 10.00	Learners and minors not to exceed 25%	9 per day, 48 per week. one afternoon half- holiday per week	for board, \$6.00 for both 1. Overtime granted on permit for not more than 30 days per year, not to exceed 3 hours per day or 6 per week

November 26, 1921	Pickles group	11.00	$6.\dots$ ${3 \choose 3}$	10.00	1	44	9.00 10.00	not
September 24, 1918 November 26, 1921)	Macaroni and vermi- celli group	11.00	$6.\dots \{ egin{smallmatrix} 3 \ 3 \end{bmatrix}$	9.00 10.00	1	{4 4 4	8.00 9.00 10.00	Learn not
September 24, 1918 November 26, 1921}	Groceries group	11.00	$6.\dotsinom{3}{3}$	9.00 10.00	1	{4 4 4	8.00 9.00 10.00	Learn not
September 24, 1918 November 26, 1921}	Creameries group	11.00	$egin{array}{c} 6.\ldots\ldots igg\{ egin{array}{c} 3 \ 3 \end{array} \end{array}$	9.00 10.00	1	{4 4 4	8.00 9.00 10.00	Learn not
September 24, 1918 November 26, 1921)	Yeast group	11.00	$egin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	9.00 10.00	1	{4 4 4	8.00 9.00 10.00	Learn not
September 24, 1918 November 26, 1921}	Abattoirs group	11.00	$oldsymbol{6},\ldots, inom{3}{3}$	9.00 10.00	1	{ 4 4 4	8.00 9.00 10.00	Learn not
November 19, 1918 November 26, 1921	Confectionery and bis- cuits	11.00	$6.\dots{3 \brace 3}$	9.00 10.00	1	{4 4 4	8.00 9.00 10.00	Learn not
December 2, 1918	Shops and stores, in- cluding booths, stalls and newstands	12.00	$12.\ldots$ ${6 \choose 6}$	9.00 11.00		14–15 years 16 years 17 years	7.00 8.00 9.00	Learn 25% emi 25%
December 2, 1918	Departmental stores	12.00	$12.\ldots$ ${6 \choose 6}$	9.00 11.00		14–15 years 16 years 17 years	7.00 8.00 9.00	Learn 25% em
December 2, 1918	Five, ten, and fifteen cent stores	12.00	$12.\ldots$ $\begin{Bmatrix} 6 \\ 6 \end{Bmatrix}$	9.00 11.00		14-15 years 16 years 17 years	7.00 8.00 9.00	Learn 25% em
December 2, 1918 August 17, 1919 November 26, 1921	Soap factories	11.00	$6.\ldots$ ${3 \choose 3}$	9.00 10.00	1	{4 4 4	8.00 9.00 10.00	25% Learn not
December 2, 1918 November 26, 1921}	Paper box factories	11.00	$6.\dots \{rac{3}{3}$	9.00 10.00	1	{4 4 4	8.00 9.00 10.00	Learn not
December 27, 1918 November 26, 1921}	Cigar factories	11.00	$egin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	9.00 10.00	1	{4 4 4	8.00 9.00 10.00	Learn not
December 30, 1918	Bag factories	Skilled 12.00 Unskilled 11.00	Skilled $6 \dots \begin{Bmatrix} 3 \\ 3 \end{Bmatrix}$ Unskilled $6 \dots \begin{Bmatrix} 3 \\ 3 \end{Bmatrix}$	11.00 11.50 10.00 10.50		15 years 16 years 17 years	8.00 9.00 9.75 \$1.00 increase each 6 mos. thereafter un-	
December 30, 1918	Auto top, casket, leath- er goods, tent and awning, paint, rag broom, and seed packing factories	12.00	18	9.00 10.00 11.00		15 years 16 years 17 years	7.00 8.00 8.75 \$1.00 increase each 6 most thereafter un-	Learn not
Dec ember 30, 1918	Bedding factories	12.00	$m{6}ig\{rac{3}{3}$	9.00 10.00	Minors to be classed as learners		til minimum is reached	Learn 25%
December 30, 1918 November 26, 1921}	Drug factories	11.00	$6. \dots \{rac{3}{3}$	9.00 10.00	1	{4 4 4	8.00 9.00 10.00	Learn not
			(6	9.00		15 years	7.00	Learn

6 $\begin{Bmatrix} 3\\3 \end{Bmatrix}$	10,00	1	{4 4	9.00 10.00	not to exceed 25%	one afternoon half- holiday per week	permit for not more than 30 days per year, not to exceed 3 hours per day or 6 per week
$6.\dots{3 \brace 3}$	9.00	1	{4 4 4	8.00 9.00	Learners and minors not to exceed 25%	9 per day, 48 per week. one afternoon half-	2. Maximum deduction of \$2.00 for lodging, \$4.50 for board, \$6.00 for both 1. Overtime granted on permit for not more than
8,	10.00	•	14	10.00	no to exceed 2070	holiday per week	30 days per year, not to exceed 3 hours per day, or 6 per week 2. Maximum deduction of
$6.\dots{3 \brace 3}$	9.00 10.00	1	$ \begin{cases} 4 \\ 4 \\ 4 \end{cases} $	8.00 9.00 10.00	Learners and minors not to exceed 25%	9 per day, 48 per week. one afternoon half- holiday per week	\$2.00 for lodging, \$4.50 for board, \$6.00 for both 1. Overtime granted on permit for not more than 30 days per year, not to
			(2			nonally por wood	exceed 3 hours per day or 6 per week 2. Maximum deduction of \$2.00 for lodging, \$4.00
$6.\dots$ ${3 \choose 3}$	9.00 10.00	1	{4 {4 4	8.00 9.00 10.00	Learners and minors not to exceed 25%	9 per day, 48 per week one afternoon half- holiday per week	for board, \$6.00 for both 1. Overtime granted on permit for not more than 30 days per year, not to exceed 3 hours per day
a (3	9.00		[4	8.00	Learners and minors	9 per day, 48 per week	or 6 per week 2. Usual deduction for lodging and board 1. Overtime granted on
6\\\\\\3	10.00	1	{4 4 4	9.00	not to exceed 25%	one afternoon half- holiday per week	permit for not more than 20 days a year, not to exceed 3 hours per day or 6 per week 2. Usual deduction for
$6.\dots{3 \choose 3}$	9.00 10.00	1	$\left\{\begin{matrix} 4\\4\\4\end{matrix}\right.$	8.00 9.00 10.00	Learners and minors not to exceed 25%	9 per day, 48 per week. one afternoon half- holiday per week	lodging and board
(3	9.00		[4	8.00	Learners and minors	9 per day, 48 per week.	or 6 per week 2. Usual deduction for lodging and board 1. Overtime granted on
6{3	10.00	1	4 4 4	9.00	not to exceed 25%	one afternoon half- holiday per week	permit for not more than 30 days a year, not to exceed 3 hours per day or 6 per wek 2. Usual
12 ${6 \choose 6}$	9.00 11.00		14-15 years 16 years 17 years	7.00 8.00 9.00	25% of adult female employees; minors	week, 11½ Saturday, exceptions made for	board and lodging 1. No overtime except on permit of Board 2. Usual deduction for
$12.\ldots$ ${6 \choose 6}$	9.00 11.00		14–15 years 16 years 17 years	7.00 8.00 9.00	25% of adult female employees; minors 25%		lodging and board 1. No overtime except on permission of the Board 2. Usual deduction for lodging and board
$12.\ldots$ ${6 \choose 6}$	9.00 11.00		14-15 years 16 years 17 years	7.00 8.00 9.00	Learners not to exceed 25% of adult female employees; minors 25%	week during De-	No overtime except on permission of the Board Usual deduction for ladging and board
$6. \dots \{ \frac{3}{3} $	9.00 10.00	1	{4 4 4	8.00 9.00 10.00	Learners and minors not to exceed 25%	9 per day, 48 per week. one afternoon half- holiday per week	Oughing and bath of the control of the control on permit and for only 30 days per year, and then not to exceed 3 hours in one day or 6
. (3	9.00		[4	8.00	Learners and minors	9 per day, 48 per week.	in one week 2. Usual deduction for lodging and board 1. Overtime to be worked
6\{\}3	10.00	1	{4 4 4	9.00	not to exceed 25%	one afternoon half- holiday per week	only on permit and for only 30 days per year, and then not to exceed 3 hours in one day and 6 in one week
$6{3 \atop 3}$	9.00 10.00	1	$\left\{egin{array}{c} 4 \\ 4 \\ 4 \end{array}\right.$	8.00 9.00	Learners and minors not to exceed 25%	9 per day, 48 per week. one afternoon half-	Usual deduction for lodging and board Overtime to be worked only on permit and for
			(4	10.00		holiday per week	only 30 days per year, and then not to exceed 3 hours in one day or 6 in one week 2. Usual deduction for
killed $6 \dots \begin{pmatrix} 3 \\ 3 \end{pmatrix}$	11.00 11.50 10.00 10.50		15 years 16 years 17 years	8.00 9.00 9.75 \$1.00 increase	25% of total adult female workers; mi-	9 per day, 49 per week. Saturday half-holi-	lodging and board 1. Overtime to be worked only on permit for not more than 36 days per
(3	10.00			each 6 mos. thereafter un- til minimum is reached	nors 257 ₀		year 2. Usual deduction for lodging and board
18{\begin{pmatrix} 6 \\ 6 \\ 6 \end{pmatrix}	9.00 10.00 11.00		15 years 16 years 17 years	7.00 8.00 8.75 \$1.00 increase	Learners and minors not to exceed 25%	9 per day, 50 per week. Saturday half-holi- day	Overtime to be worked only on permit and for not more than 26 days a year
				each 6 mos. thereafter un- til minimum is reached			2. Usual deduction for lodging and board
6 ${3 \choose 3}$	9.00 10.00	Minors to be classed as learners			Learners not to exceed 25%; minors 25%		Overtime to be worked only on permit and for not more than 36 days a year
$6.\dots{rac{3}{3}}$	9.00 10.00	1	$\left\{egin{array}{c} 4 \\ 4 \\ 4 \end{array}\right.$	8.00 9.00 10.00	Learners and minors not to exceed 25%	9 per day, 48 per week, one afternoon half- holiday per week	Usual deduction for lodging and board Overtime to be worked only on permit and for
,			(X	10.00		Accounty por week	not more than 30 days a year, and then not to exceed 3 hours in one day or 6 in one week 2. Usual deduction for
(6	9.00		15 years	7.00	Learners not to exceed	9 per day, 50 per week,	lodging and board 1. Overtime to be worked

	broom, and seed packing factories						each 6 mos. thereafter un- til minimum	
Dec ember 30, 1918 F	Bedding factories	12.00	$egin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	9.00 10.00	Minors to be classed as learners		is reached	Learn 25%
December 30, 1918 November 26, 1921	Drug factories	11.00	$oldsymbol{6},\ldots, igg \{ egin{smallmatrix} 3 \ 3 \end{bmatrix}$	9.00 10.00	1	$\begin{cases} 4\\4\\4 \end{cases}$	8.00 9.00 10.00	Learn not
D ecember 30, 1918	Glove factories	12.00	$18.\dots\dots \begin{cases} 6\\6\\6 \end{cases}$	9.00 9.50 10.00		15 years 16 years 17 years	7.00 8.00 8.75 \$1.00 increase each 6 mos.	Learr 259
D ecember 30, 1918 J	Jewelry factories	12.00	$12.\ldots.$ $\begin{cases} 6\\3\\3 \end{cases}$	8.00 9.00 10.00	Minors to be classed as learners		thereafter un- til minimum is reached	
February 7, 1919 1	Millinery establish- ments	12.00	{ 1st season 2d season 3d season 4th season	5.00 6.00 8.00 10.00	Minors to be classed as learners			Learn nor 25
February 9, 1919	Knitting factories	12.00	$18.\ldots \left\{egin{array}{c} 6 \ 6 \ 6 \end{array} ight.$	9.00 10.00 11.00		15 years 16 years 17 years	7.00 8.00 8.75	Learn 25
February 9, 1919	Tailoring establish- ments	12.00	$6. \dots \begin{cases} 6 \text{ periods} \\ 4 \text{ weeks} \\ \text{each} \end{cases}$	6.00 \$1 additional each succes- sive period	Minors to be classed as learners			Learn noi 25
November 15, 1921 (latest order)	Printing, lithograph- ing, bookbinding, envelope manufac- turing, and other manufacturing op-	12.00	$24 \dots \begin{cases} 6 \\ 6 \\ 6 \end{cases}$	8.00 9.00 10.00 11.00	Minors to be classed as learners			Learn noi 25
February 25, 1919	erations of wholesale stationers Ladies' hat factories	12.00	$9.\ldots$ $\begin{Bmatrix} 3\\3\\3 \end{Bmatrix}$	8.00 9.00 10.00	Minors to be classed as learners			Learn mi cee
February 25, 1919	Garment and regalia factories	12.00	$6.\dotsinom{3}{3}$	9.00 10.50	Minors to be classed as learners			Lear mi cee
February 25, 1919	Mail order establish- ments		Class A 24 Ist 12 Class B 12 2d 12 Class B	10.00 11.00 10.00		15 years 16 years 17 years	7.00 8.00 9.00	Mino ers 25
February 25, 1919	Ladies' wear factories	Skilled 12.00 Unskilled 10.00	Skilled 18 $\begin{cases} 6 \\ 6 \\ 6 \end{cases}$ Unskilled, no learning period	8.00 10.00 11.00	Minors to be classed as learners			Lear no 25
March 4, 1919	Brandon, including employees engaged in candy making in connection with any	12.00	18	9.00 10.00 11.00		14–15 years 16 years 17 years	7.00 8.00 9.00	Lear 25
March 4, 1919	Seed packing and fire- works factories, Brandon	12.00	$9.\dots.$ $\begin{Bmatrix} 3\\3\\3 \end{Bmatrix}$	9.00 10.00 11.00	9	(3 (3 (3	7.50 8.50 10.00	Lear 25
March 22, 1919	Dyeing and cleaning industries	Class A 12.00 Class B 12.00 Class C 11.00	Class A 12 Class A $\begin{cases} 6 \\ \text{Class C} \end{cases}$ Class B 6 Class C 6 Class C 6	10.00 11.00 10.00 9.00	Minors come under Class C			Lean no 25
April 1, 1919	Hair dressing establishments	12.00	18{6 6 6 6	8.00 9.50 11.00	Minors not permitted to work except by special permission of the Board	•		
June 3, 1919	Hotels in Winnipeg and St. Boniface (except- ing those employed at the news counters and on the office		No learning period		No minors		•	

				each 6 mos. thereafter un- til minimum			2. Usual deduction for lodging and board	
6 ${3 \atop 3}$	9.00	Minors to be classed as		is reached	Learners not to exceed	9 per day, 50 per week	1. Overtime to be worked	
·····/3	10.00	learners			25%; minors 25%		only on permit and for not more than 36 days a year	
a (3	9.00	,	$ \begin{cases} 4 \\ 4 \\ 4 \end{cases} $	8.00 9.00	Learners and minors			
$6{3 \atop 3}$	10.00	1	14	10.00	not to exceed 25%	holiday per week	only on permit and for not more than 30 days a year, and then not to	
							exceed 3 hours in one day or 6 in one week 2. Usual deduction for lodging and board	
18	9.00 9.50 10.00		15 years 16 years 17 years	7.00 8.00 8.75	Learners not to exceed 25%; minors 25%	9 per day, 50 per week, Saturday half-holi- day	Overtime to be worked only on permit and for not more than 36 days a	
,			·	\$1.00 increase each 6 mos. thereafter un-		,	year 2. Usual deduction for lodging and board	
$12.\ldots$ $\begin{cases} 6\\3 \end{cases}$	8.00 9.00	Minors to be classed as learners		til minimum is reached	Learners not to exceed 25%; minors 25%	9 per day, 49 per week, Saturday half-holi-	1. Overtime to be worked	
12{3 3	10.00	learners			20/0, initiots 20/0	day	only on permit and for not more than 36 days a year 2. Usual deduction for	
(1st season 2d season	6.00	Minors to be classed as learners			Learners (including mi- nors) not to exceed	week, Saturday half-		
asons3d season (4th season	8.00 10.00				25%	holiday in June, July, and August 49 for establishments	not more than 36 days a year 2. Usual deduction for	
18	9.00 10.00		15 years 16 years	7.00 8,00	Learners not to exceed 25%; minors 25%	open Saturday eve- ning 9 per day, 50 per week, Saturday half-holi-	lodging and board 1. Overtime to be worked	
6	11.00		17 years	8.75	20/0, minors 20%	day nan-non-	only on permit and for not more than 36 days a year 2. Usual deduction for	
	\$1 additional	Minors to be classed as learners			nors) not to exceed	Saturday hali-holi-	ladaina and based	
(each	each succes- sive period				25%	day	not more than 36 days a year 2. Usual deduction for	
$24. \dots \begin{cases} 6 \\ 6 \\ 6 \end{cases}$	8.00 9.00 10.00	Minors to be classed as learners			Learners (including mi- nors) not to exceed 25%	9 per day, 48 per week, Saturday half-holi- day	lodging and board 1. Overtime to be worked only on permit and for not more than 36 days a	
(6	11.00				2070		year 2. Usual deduction for lodging and board	
9	8.00 9.00 10.00	Minors to be classed as learners			minors) not to ex-	Saturday nair-non-	Overtime to be worked only on permit and for	
(3	10,00				ceed 25%	day	not more than 36 days a year 2. Usual deduction for lodging and board	
$6.\ldots {3 \choose 3}$	9.00 10.50	Minors to be classed as learners			Learners (including minors) not to exceed 25%	9 per day, 48 per week, Saturday half-holi- day	1. Overtime to be worked only on permit and for not more than 36 days a	
						-	year 2. Usual deduction for	
Class A 88 A 24 1st 12 88 B 12 2d 12	10.00 11.00		15 years 16 years 17 years	7.00 8.00 9.00	Minors or adult learn- ers not to exceed 25%	9 per day, 48 per week, Saturday half-holi- day	Overtime to be worked only on permit and not to exceed 3 hours a day	
Class B	10.00						(4 on Saturday) nor normally 10 a week; extra amounts may be	
							worked between October 15 and December 22 and March 15 and May 15 2. Usual deduction for	
6 8killed 18{6	8.00 10.00	Minors to be classed as learners				Saturday half-holi-	lodging and board 1. Overtime to be worked only on permit and for	
skilled, no learning period	11.00				25%	day	not more than 36 days a year 2. Usual deduction for	
$18. \dots \begin{cases} 6 \\ 6 \\ 6 \end{cases}$	9.00 10.00 11.00		14-15 years 16 years 17 years	7.00 8.00 9.00	Learners not to exceed 25%; minors 25%	day, 51 per week	lodging and board 1. Overtime shall not be worked more than 3 days a week and must be	
U	11.00		a. Juni			exceptions made from June to Sep- tember, during fair week, and sever days prior to Christ	9 Ilmini doduction for	
[3	9.00		(3	7.50	Learners not to exceed	mas 19 per day, 48 per week	1. Overtime not to be	
$egin{array}{c} 9.\ldots\ldots egin{cases} 3 \ 3 \ 3 \end{array} \end{array}$	10.00 11.00	9	$\begin{cases} 3\\3\\3 \end{cases}$	8.50 10.00	25%; minors 25%	one half-holiday pe week and specia exemption up to 55 hours during certain	days a year and to be reported	
ass A 12 Class A \(\begin{pmatrix} 6 \\ 6 \\ ass C & Class B & 6 \\ ass C & Class B & 6 \end{pmatrix}	10.00 11.00	Minors come under Class C			Learners (including mi nors) not to exceed	seasons - 9 per day, 50 per week	lodging and board 1. Overtime to be worked	
Class C 6	10.00 9.00				25%	day	more than 36 days a year 2. Usual deduction for lodging and board	
$18.\ldots$ $\begin{cases} 6 \\ 6 \\ 6 \end{cases}$	8.00 9.50 11.00	to work except by special permission of	•			48 per week, half holiday each week	1. Overtime to be worked only on permit for not more than 3 hours a day,	
		the Board				during July and August	year 2. Usual deduction for	
No learning period		No minors				. 52 per week, two after noons off from P.M. or one whol		
						day off each week	week and 20 days per year; never more than	

	Brandon							
Ma rch 22, 1919	Dyeing and cleaning industries	Class A 12.00 Class B 12.00 Class C 11.00	Class A 12 Class A $\begin{pmatrix} 6 \\ 6 \end{pmatrix}$ Class C 6 Class B 6 Class C 6	10.00 11.00 10.00 9.00	Ainors come under Class C			Lean no 25
April 1, 1919	Hair dressing establish- ments	12.00	18{\begin{array}{c} 6 & 6 & 6 & 6 & 6 & 6 & 6 & 6 & 6 & 6	8.00 9.50 11.00	Minors not permitted to work except by special permission of the Board			
June 3, 1919	Hotels in Winnipeg and St. Boniface (except- ing those employed at the news counters and on the office staff)	12.50	No learning period	1	No minors			•••
June 3, 1919	Furriers' establish- ments in Winnipeg and St. Boniface	12.00	$6\ldots\ldots \{rac{3}{3}$	9.00 10.50	18	6 6 6	8.00 9.00 10.00	Lea n 2
June 3, 1919	Dressmaking establish- ments in Winnipeg and St. Boniface	12.00	$12.\ldots \begin{cases} 3\\3\\3\\3 \end{cases}$	8.00 9.00 10.00 11.00	Probationary period of 4 weeks, no wage stipulated; then \$6 for 6 months, with \$1 per week increase at the end of each succeeding 6 months			Lea 2
July 26, 1919	Offices in Winnipeg' St. Boniface and St. James	12.50	$6.\ldots \{rac{3}{3}$	10.50 11.50	for 2 years	15 years 16 years 17 years 17½ years	8,00 9,00 10,00 10,50	Wh e: (i
November 15, 1921	Restaurants, Winnipeg and St. Boniface	12.50	No learning period		No minors' rates No minor under 16 to be employed			
	Winnipeg, St. Boni- face, and St. James	Ticket sellers 12.00 Ushers 12.00 Cleaners, 35 cents per hour	No learners		No minors			
September 30, 1919	Restaurants in Bran- don	12.50	No learning period		No minors to be em- ployed			
September 30, 1919	Hotels in Brandon (excepting those employed at the news counters, and on the office staff)	12.50	No learning period		No rates for minors			
October 6, 1919	Offices in Brandon	12.50	6{3	10.50 11.50		15 years 16 years 17 years 17½ years	8.00 9.00 10.00 10.50	Wi
October 6, 1919	Millinery establish- ments in Brandon	12.00	4 seasons. { 1st season 2d season 3d season 4th season (6)	8.00 10.00	Minors to be classed as learners			No.
October 6, 1919	Dressmaking establish- ments in Brandon	12.00	12\bigg\{\begin{array}{c} 3 \\ 3 \\ 3 \\ 3 \\ 3 \\ 3 \\ \\ \\ \\	8.00 9.00 10.00 11.00	Probationary period of 4 weeks, no wage stipulated, then 6 months at \$6 \$1 additional at the end of each succes- sive period of 6			No
Ontario	Laundries, dyc- works, and dry- cleaning establish- ments	·			months for 2 years		0.00	
May 1, 1921	(a) In city of Toronto	12.00	$6.\ldots$ ${3 \choose 3}$	10.00 11.00	18	{6 6 6	9.00 10.00 11.00	Ac
September 1, 1921	(b) In cities of over 50,000, excepting	12.00	6{3	10.00	18	66 66 66 66	7.00 8.50 10.00 7.00 8.50 10.00	A
September 1, 1921	. (c) Province of Ontario, except in cities of over 50,000	11.00	$6.\ldots$ ${3 \choose 3}$	9.00 10.00	18	6 6	8.50 10.00	
August 1, 1921	2. Confectionery, biscuits, etc.; paper box, manufacturing stationery, tag, check book, etc. (a) In city of Toronto.		12{666	10.00 11.00	18	{6 6 6	8.00 9.00 10.00	A
			(-			Į0	10.00	

						exemption up to 52 hours during certain 2	reported . Usual deduction for
ass A 12 Class A \ 6 ass C 6 Class B 6 Class C 6	10.00 11.00 10.00 9.00	Minors come under . Class C			earners (including minors) not to exceed 25%	per day, 50 per week, Saturday half-holi- day	lodging and board . Overtime to be worked only on permit for not more than 36 days a year . Usual deduction for
$18. \dots \begin{cases} 6 \\ 6 \\ 6 \end{cases}$	1	Minors not permitted to work except by special permission of				per day, 11 Saturday, 48 per week, half- holiday each week	lodging and board Overtime to be worked only on permit for not more than 3 hours a day,
No learning period		the Board				52 per week, two after-	6 a wek and 36 days a year 2. Usual deduction for lodging and board l. Overtime to be worked
To reason period						noons off from 2 P.M. or one whole day off each week	only on permit for not more than 6 hours per week and 20 days per year; never more than 11 hours to be worked in a day 2. Usual deduction for
$6.\dots \{rac{3}{3}$	9.00 10.50	18	6 6 6	8.00 9.00 10.00	Learners (including minors) not to exceed 25%	9 per day, 48 per week, Saturday half-holi- day	only on permit for not more than 36 days a year 2. Usual deduction for
$12. \dots \begin{cases} 3\\3\\3\\3 \end{cases}$	8.00 9.00 10.00 11.00	Probationary period of 4 weeks, no wage stipulated; then \$6 for 6 months, with \$1 per week increase at the end of each succeeding 6 months]	Learners not to exceed 25%; minors 25%	8½ per day, 49 per week, 11½ Saturday, half-holiday a week	lodging and board
$6.\ldots$ ${3 \choose 3}$	10.50 11.50	for 2 years	15 years 16 years 17 years 17½ years	8.00 9.00 10.00 10.50	Where more than 8 employed, learners (including minors) not to exceed 25%	8 per day, 44 per week, 1 full day off each week	 Overtime to be worked only on permit not to exceed 3 hours per day, 6 per week, nor more
No learning period		No minors' rates No minor under 16 to be employed				10 per day, 48 per week, 1 full day off each week	only on permit for not more than 1 hour per day, 6 per week, nor on more than 20 days per year
No learners		No minors				9 per day, 48 per week	2. Maximum of \$4.00 a week for board
No learning period		No minors to be employed				10 per day, 48 per week, 1 day off each week	Overtime to be worked only on permit for not more than 6 hours per week, nor more than 20 days per year Maximum deduction of
No learning period		No rates for minors				52, 1 day off or 2 after- noons from 2 P.M.	\$4.00 a week for board
$6.\dots \left\{ egin{smallmatrix} 3 \ 3 \end{smallmatrix} ight.$	10.50 11.50		15 years 16 years 17 years 17½ years	8.00 9.00 10.00 10.50	Where more than 8 employed, learners (including minors) not to exceed 25%		Overtime to be worked only on permit not to exceed 3 hours in any one day, 6 hours in a week, and for not more
seasons 1st season 2d season 3d season 4th season	6.00 8.00	Minors to be classed as learners			Not more than 25% to be learners (includ- ing minors)	8½ per day, 50 per week, if associated with a store, hours for that branch to govern	more than 36 days a year
$12 \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \begin{cases} 3\\3\\3\\3 \end{cases}$	8.00 9.00 10.00 11.00	Probationary period of 4 weeks, no wage stipulated, then 6 months at \$6 \$1 additional at the end of each succes- sive period of 6 months for 2 years			Not more than 25% to be learners; not more than 25% to be minors	81 per day, 49 per	1. Overtime to be worked
$6.\dotsigg\{rac{3}{3}$	10.00 11.00	18	{6 6 6	9.00 10.00 11.00	Adult learners 25% minors 25%	by Board, maximum 10 hour day fixed by Factory, Shop, and	
$6.\dots \left\{ egin{smallmatrix} 3 \ 3 \end{smallmatrix} ight.$	10.00 11.00	18	{6 6 6	7.00 8.50 10.00	Adult learners 25% minors 25%		Maximum for lodging \$2; for board \$5
$egin{array}{cccc} eta & \ldots & \lambda & \lambda$	9.00 10.00	18	6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6	7.00 8.50 10.00	Adult learners 25% minors 25%	•	Part-time under 40 hours to be paid for at hourly basis at rates not less than 1-48th of weekly minimum Maximum for lodging \$1.50; for boar \$4.50
$12.\dots igcup igl(egin{array}{c} 6 \ 6 \end{array} igr)$	10.00 11.00	18	{6 6 6	8.00 9.00 10.00	Adult learners not t exceed 33%; m nors 33%; the tw not to exceed 50%	i- by Board. Max o mum 10 hour da fixed by Factory	y 3 months, to receive

September 1, 1921 (b)	In cities of over 50,000, excepting	12.00	$6.\ldots$ ${3 \choose 3}$	11.00	18	6 6 6	8.50 10.00	A
September 1, 1921 (c)	Toronto Province of Ontario, except in cities of over 50,000	11.00	$6{3 \choose 3}$	9.00 10.00	18	86 6	7.00 8.50 10.00	A
	Confectionery, biscuits, etc.; paper box, manufacturing stationery, tag, check book, etc.	12.50	12{6 6	10.00 11.00	18	66 66 6	8.00 9.00 10.00	A
December, 1921	50,000, excepting	11.50	12	9.50 10.50	18	6 6 6	8.00 9.00 10.00	A
December, 1921	Toronto In cities of from 5,000 to 50,000	11.00	$12.\ldots$ ${6 \choose 6}$	9.00 10.00	18		7.00 8.50 10.00	
December, 1921	Ontario, excepting	10.00	$12.\ldots \{ egin{array}{c} 6 \ 6 \end{array} \}$	8.00 9.00	18	{6 6 6	6.00 7.50 9.00	
August 1, 19213	localities of over 5,000 . Retail stores 2) In city of Toronto	12.50	12	10.00 11.00		Girls commencing at 16 years 1st 6 months 2d 6 months 3d 6 months 4th 6 months	8.00 9.00 10.00 11.00	
						Girls commencing at 16½ years 1st 6 months 2d 6 months 3d 6 months Girls commencing at 17 years	8.50 9.50 10.50	
November 5, 1921 (b) In cities of over 50,000, excepting Toronto	12.00	12{6 6	10.00 11.00	24	1st 6 months	9.00 10.00 11.00 1.00 8.00 9.00 10.00 11.00	
Saskatchewan October 1, 1919	Laundries and factories	14.00	$18.\ldots \left\{egin{array}{c} 6 \ 6 \ 6 \end{array} ight.$	9.50 11.00	Only two classes pro	-		•••
November 15, 1921			-	12.50	enced and inexperi			
Otcober 1, 1619	Mail order houses	14.00	18	8.00 10.00 12.00	Only two classes pro vided for, experi enced and inexperi enced	- - -		•••
July 15, 1920	Hotels, restaurants, and refreshment rooms	\$12.00; deduction of \$5.25 may be made for a full week's board of 21	33	12.00	No female under 1 may be employed	6		•••
July 15, 1920\ November 15, 1921}	Shops and stores	meals, or \$2.50 per week for lodging 15.00	$18.\ldots$ $\begin{cases} 6 \\ 6 \\ 6 \end{cases}$	9.50 11.00 13.00	Only two classes provided for, experenced and inexperenced	- - - -		• • • •
	Millinery	15.00	Probationary period of 6 weeks, for which no wage is stipulated, then a period of 18 months apprenticeship; wages to commence at \$5.00 per week, with an increase of \$2.00 per week for second 6 months, and \$3.00 per week for third 6 months					
	Dressmaking	15.00	18	5.00 8.00 12.00				• • •

$6{3 \choose 3}$	11.00	18	{6	8.50	minors 25%		for board \$5
6{3	9.00 10.00	18	6 6 6 6	10.00 7.00 8.50 10.00	Adult learners 25%; minors 25%		Part-time under 40 hours to be paid for at hourly basis at rates not less than 1-48th of weekly minimum Maximum for lodging
	10.00		(6	8.00	Adult learners not to	No regulations issued	\$1.50; for boar \$4.50 (a) At least 80% of piece-
$12.\ldots \{ egin{matrix} 6 \ 6 \end{bmatrix}$	10.00 11.00	18	6 6 6	9.00 10.00	exceed 33%; minors 33%; the two not to exceed 50%	by Board. Maxi- mum 10 hour day	workers, averaged over 3 months, to receive time minimums Part time for less than 36 hours to be paid for on a proportionate hour- ly basis. Deductions
$12.\ldotsinom{6}{6}$	9.50 10.50	18	66 66	8.00 9.00 10.00	Adult learners not to exceed 33%; mi- nors 33%; the two not to exceed 50%		for absences to be at no higher than normal rates (b) At least 80% of piece- workers, averaged over 3 months, to receive time wages
$12.\ldots \{ egin{matrix} 6 \ 6 \end{bmatrix}$	9.00 10.00	18	6 6 6	7.00 8.50 10.00	Adult learners not to exceed 33%; mi- nors 33%; the two not to exceed 50%	9	(c) At least 80% of piece- workers, averaged over 3 months, to receive time wages
$12.\ldots \{ egin{matrix} 6 \ 6 \end{smallmatrix}$	8.00 9.00	18	{6 6 6	6.00 7.50 9.00	Adult learners not to exceed 33%; minors 33%; the two not to exceed 50%	No regulations issued	1. Part-time less than 36
$12.\ldotsigg(egin{array}{c} 6 \ 6 \end{array}igg)$	10.00 11.00		Girls commencing at 16 years 1st 6 months 2d 6 months 3d 6 months 4th 6 months Girls commencing at	8.00 9.00 10.00 11.00	more than 4, adult learners not to exceed 25%; minors 25%	by Board, maximum 10 hour day fixed by	hours to be reckoned on an hourly basis 2. An employee reaching age of 18 without experi- ence in selling goods may be paid \$11 per week
			16½ years 1st 6 months 2d 6 months 3d 6 months Girls commencing at 17 years 1st 6 months	8.50 9.50 10.50			during her first 6 months
			2d 6 months 3d 6 months Girls commencing at 17½ years 1st 6 months	10.00 11.00			
12{6	10.00 11.00	24	2d 6 months 2d 6 6 6 6 6 6 6	10.00 8.00 9.00 10.00 11.00	Inexperienced workers may not include more than 25%, except where less than 4 are employed		Part-time of less than 36 hours to be reekoned on an hourly basis An employee reaching the age of 18 without experience n selling goods must receive at least \$11 per week during her first 6 months as a saleswoman, and after
6	9.50	Only two classes pro-				48	that the full minimum 1. Longer hours may be worked upon written
$18.\dots \begin{cases} 6 \\ 6 \\ 6 \end{cases}$	11.00 12.50	vided for, experi- enced and inexperi- enced	-				2. If less than 48 hours worked, wages may be reduced proportionately
$18.\dots\dots \begin{cases} 6\\6\\6 \end{cases}$	8.00 10.00 12.00	Only two classes provided for, experienced and inexperienced	-	•		48	I. Longer hours may be worked upon written permit 2. If less than 48 hours worked, wages may be reduced proportionately
33 e e ll ll r	12.00	No female under 1 may be employed	6			week, maximum 50	permit e 2. If less than 48 hours worked, wages may be reduced proportionately
18{6 6 6 6	9.50 11.00 13.00	Only two classes provided for, experienced and inexperienced	i-			48	Longer hours may be worked upon written permit If less than 48 hours worked, wages may be reduced proportionately.
Probationary period of 6 weeks, for which no wage is stipulated then a period of 12 months apprentice ship; wages to commence at \$5.00 pe week, with an increase of \$2.00 per week for second months, and \$3.00 per week for third months	0 8 6 6 6						reduced proportionately
18	5.00 8.00 12.00						•